

ANNALS  
OF  
THE TURKISH EMPIRE,

FROM  
1591 TO 1659 OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

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BY NAIMA.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE TURKISH,

BY  
CHARLES





## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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HISTORY, it has been well observed, is, of all other branches of human knowledge, the most attractive, and best rewards the efforts of research. Even the history of the most ignorant and barbarous nations that have ever peopled the globe, may furnish something, either in their modes of government, in their forms of religion, or in their manners, customs, and laws, which is calculated to amuse or instruct. The knowledge of the springs and motives of human actions, and of their consequent effects, whether auspicious or ~~in-~~auspicious, and which operate more or less powerfully on the destinies of the human race, is, by this channel, conveyed to our minds with a distinctness, perspicuity, and force which cannot, by any possibility, be gained in any other way.

By the investigation of history we become acquainted with points of character of the utmost importance, and arrive at the conviction that good and evil are, in some way or other, combined and interwoven in the affairs of life: and we may often, without difficulty, trace the happiness or misery of millions of human beings to the

act of a single individual ; and perceive that impressions have thereby been made that stamp, for ages, the moral and intellectual character of mankind.

Without adverting to the rise and downfall of the Roman Empire, out of the dismemberment of which have arisen the principal States of Europe, we would merely refer, at present, to the rise, progress, and establishment of Mohammedanism, the followers of which conquered, sword in hand, the whole of the rich and fertile provinces possessed by that empire in the East.

To trace the rise, progress, and final establishment of the Mohammedan power, from its commencement under Mohammed Mustafa, the prophet of Islamism, and its successive triumphs under the Khalifs, his immediate successors, would be to detail a series of revolutions and successions of dynasties, the most eventful and extensive, the most disastrous and appalling, that have ever taken place on the theatre of our world.

On this department of deep and lasting interest, though it be amply fitted to remunerate the labour of investigation, it is not our intention, did we possess the vanity to conceive ourselves competent for the task, to enter. Moreover, it is unnecessary ; because this department of history, in regard at least to its great and leading features, has already been fully and accurately traced and brought within our reach by others, whose talents and means of information rendered them qualified for the undertaking, and whose services, in this respect, can hardly be too much valued.

Our real purpose in offering these few general remarks, is with the view of introducing to the reader's notice the learned and laborious Turkish annalist, NAIMA, who favoured his countrymen with a connected narrative of the most important and interesting events which had transpired within the Turkish dominions for the space of seventy years. In this he has given a detailed account of all the wars, offensive and defensive, foreign and domestic, in which the Turks had been engaged during that period, besides other incidents of importance, and negociations and treaties, friendly and commercial, with foreign powers. The importance and value of this author's labours induce us to recommend to the reader's perusal the annexed volume of Translation, which contains within its pages the first twenty-eight years of the above Narrative or History, or about one-fourth of the whole work. We shall reserve for a succeeding paragraph, our remarks on this work, and in the meantime proceed to observe in general, that the foundation of the Turkish power seems to have begun with the accession of Osman or Othman I. to the rank of emir of the Oguzian tribe of Tatars in room of Ortogrul, his father, the last sultan of Iconium, who died A.D. 1299. Osman, at the head of this warlike horde, in the course of a very few years conquered and possessed himself of several of the provinces of Asia Minor, assumed the title of Sultan in 1300, and fixed his residence in Yeni-Sheher, a city of Anatolia. Orkhan, his son and successor, acquired possession of Brúsa, Nice, and Nicomedia in Bithynia, by force of arms; the first of which the Osmanli Sultans made for a time their capital. In short, such was the success which attended the Ottoman arms, that, in the course of fifty or sixty years, they overwhelmed, and subjugated to their sway, the whole of the Roman empire in

the east; absorbed the whole strength and energy of Moslem dominion; and became, and continue to be to this day, the chief bulwark of Islam and of Mohammedan despotism.

Naima commences his history of the Turkish empire with the year of the Hijrah or Hejeret 1000 (A.D. 1591), and brings it down to the year 1070 of the same era. This work was probably intended by its author to form the supplement or continuation of the history composed by Sa'd-ud-dín, which commences with the origin of the Turkish power, and brings down the narrative of events to 926 (A.D. 1526).

Naima's Annals consist of two large volumes folio, which were printed at Constantinople in the year of the Hijrah 1147, being the twelfth printed work which issued from the imperial press of Constantinople. In six years afterwards, Ráshid's History, and the Annals of Chelebí Zádeh, followed, having issued from the same press, and are a continuation of Naima.

Of Naima himself we have not been able to collect any certain information; nor do we know at what period he lived: but we conjecture he must have been contemporary, or nearly so, with Kátib Chelebí,\* author of the Fezliké, to which work Naima sometimes refers. As a narrator of facts, however, we think, from what we have read of him, we have just cause to accuse him of partiality and occasional exaggeration, into which the historian ought never to be betrayed. But where, we would venture to ask, is there one of

\* See preface to a translation of the Maritime Wars of the Turks, by James Mitchell.



this class of writers who stands entirely acquitted of these defects ? To a Turk, however, the Annals of Naima possess that same sort of importance which we, in similar circumstances, are accustomed to attach to a work of the like nature amongst ourselves. The Turk, we have no doubt, will consider, as sound doctrine, the defects to which we have referred, and that too without hesitation and without enquiry ; because they are entirely congenial to his creed and modes of thinking.

Of the annexed translation we have only one word to say, and that is, that we have exercised all possible care to translate honestly and fairly, and this being all we undertook to accomplish, we leave it to speak for itself.

THE TRANSLATOR.

*Edinburgh, May 24th 1832.*

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N.B.—In the following work the system of Sir William Jones, in the orthography of Oriental words, has been used as far as the nature of the Turkish language would permit. The accented vowels have the same sounds as in Italian ; and the unaccented, the short sounds, as *a* in *bat*, *i* in *lily*, &c. The consonants have the sound usually given them in our own language.





## AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

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IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL AND MOST  
GRACIOUS GOD !

THE thousandth year of the Hijrah commenced on the first of Moharrem—which is also the Sabbath-day (Saturday)—and is the three hundred and fifty-fourth thousand four hundred and ninety-ninth day of the Prophet's flight.

This year of happy omen, connected with antecedent time, makes the 184693d year, and the 5350th of the Jewish era; but, according to Melek'l-mowid's mode of reckoning, is the 7216th year. The thousandth year of the Hijrah is the 4974th from Noah's flood, but which, according to the calculations of astronomers, falls short of that period by a space of 270 years : and the 2807th of the supreme conjunction ; the 2338th of the era of Nebuchadnossar ; the 1901st of the era of Alexander ; the 1590th of the Christian era ; the 1360th of the Copts ; the 959th of the Yezdijerd (the ancient Persian era) ; the 533rd of Jellali (the modern Persian era) ; and the 167th year of the middle or intermediate supreme conjunction.

Writers of defective intelligence have introduced a multitude of opinions into their writings, which go on to say, among other things, that when the thousandth year of the Hijrah was once over, the day of the resurrection would immediately arrive, or if it should not then arrive, it would, most certainly, not extend beyond thirty lunar years (*i. e.* the intercalary and other years of that period of time). In this particular they not only assumed weak and ill-founded premises, but, as might be expected, have written incorrectly on the subject. Witness, for instance, their speculations concerning the completion of the moon's revolutions, whence they affirm, that the Prophet (on whom be blessing and peace) should not remain in his grave till the thousand years expired, and other similar records, which, however, are at once at variance with true philosophy and sound theology. Several writers not attending to these things have, through ignorance or carelessness, given currency in their writings to statements which are utterly without foundation, and therefore contrary to the received canon.



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ANNALS OF NAIMA;  
OR,  
A HISTORY OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

A H. 1000—1070. A.D. 1591—1659.

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EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED IN THE YEAR 1000 OF THE HIJRAH.

*The Grand Vezír Ferhád Páshá deposed, and the Vezirship conferred on  
Sívush Páshá.*

THE inhabitants of Erzerúm having earnestly requested, by letters, to be delivered from the oppression and tyranny of the Janissaries, who had been sent among them during the winter, Ferhád Páshá, to put a stop to these complaints, assured them in return, that the Janissaries would be recalled to their own odás within the empire. The inhabitants, on receiving this intelligence, were elated: their proud and haughty spirits were roused; and without giving any due time to the Janissaries to prepare for their departure, or without exercising the least degree of patience whatever, and in violation of the Páshá's letter, they commenced expelling the Janissaries, and loading them with every species of reproach. A tumult ensued. Some of the Janissaries fell by the hands of the inhabitants before the former had sufficient time given them to evacuate the place.

This treatment, which was wholly occasioned by Ferhád's letter, awakened the wrath of the Janissaries, and led them to write letters to their own odás and commanders complaining of the author of the maltreatment they had met with. Accordingly the grand vezír, Ferhád Páshá, who knew what

he had to fear from the malevolence of the Janissaries, rode boldly up to the Diván on the 20th of Jemadi II., and demanded to know whether the emperor (Sultán Murád Khán III.) had given his consent to the orders sent to the Janissaries at Erzerúm to murder him. The members of the council replied to this imperious demand by immediately commencing an assault on the grand vezír; and it was with no small difficulty that the officers of the vezír succeeded in quieting the tumult and uproar which this circumstance had occasioned. The members of the council, on peace being restored, retired to their respective homes: but the affair was not yet ended; for the emperor was no sooner informed of the disturbance which had taken place in the diván, than he issued a royal mandate requiring an explanation of the cause of it from his minister, Ferhád. The minister, however, found himself inadequate to give a satisfactory answer to the imperial demand; and therefore, instead of giving a fair and candid statement of the whole affair, had recourse, from a defect of judgment, to equivocation. Thinking the matter was now hushed, he proceeded to depose and maltreat the aghá of the Janissaries, Sátúrjî Aghá; and appointed the armour-bearer, Khalíl Aghá, in his stead. The very next day, however, the emperor, who had become acquainted with his inconsistent and rash conduct, deposed him, and raised Síávush Páshá a third time to the premiership.

#### *The Militia of Tabríz.*

The militia of Tabríz, malicious, corrupt, oppressive, and obstinate, and ever skilful in stirring up rebellion, have always been disposed to throw off the authority of their governors. The vezír Ja'fer Páshá, who was this year governor of Tabríz and Azerbáiján, contrived and executed a stratagem against them however, which ought to have taught them ever afterwards to conduct themselves with propriety and good order. It was this: Ja'fer Páshá, under the pretext of being obliged to go and take cognizance of some other garrisons, left Tabríz, having secured a sufficient number of troops from the Kurd chiefs to come and assault Tabríz. The Tabrízians on learning that an army of Kurds was come to attack them rushed forth to give it battle, but were defeated with the loss of 1,500 of their number. Ja'fer Páshá, on learning the success of the Kurds, joined them with the volunteers under

his own command, and commenced a general slaughter of the Tabrízians, and thus punished them most severely for their wickedness and insubordination.

*The Mufti Effendi, Bostánzádeh, deposed, and Zekería Effendi appointed in his stead.*

Husain Beg Zádeh says (in his history), that several disgraceful complaints had been lodged with the emperor against the acute poet Báki Effendí, the military judge of Anatolia. As soon as Báki Effendí was made acquainted with this fact, and conjecturing that the mufti, in order to get his own brother, cazi of Constantinople, appointed in his room, would be excited to raise an accusation against him; he, with great boldness, raised his voice in the diván and demanded what these Bostáns (the mufti and his brother) wanted with him? The elder of them, he said, was forty years of age, and was not yet able either to repeat or read correctly. None of the decrees, continued he, which he (the mufti) has written are in accordance with those already collected and registered. Would it be just or wise, in order to get Jamús, the mufti's brother, put into his office, and for which he was unfit, he asked, that complaints should be invented against him? This speech was communicated to the mufti, who was so much nettled that he instantly exhibited two hemistiches from Báki's poetical works, which he declared evident blasphemy. A man, he said, who did not keep himself free from that corruption ought by no means to hold any office, sacred or profane. If Báki, continued he, be not deposed, and not only deposed but prosecuted, he (the mufti) would wander away to the utmost bounds of the empire. Báki Effendí, seeing the mufti had commenced his vexatious proceedings against him, appealed to the grand vezír and Khoja Sudur-ud-dín Effendí, and proposed to them to raise Zekería Effendí to the office of mufti: or else to give that office to himself, assuring them that he was competent to give forth daily, if requisite, 500 fetvas (judicial or religious decrees).

The mufti, in the mean time, sent an account of the whole affair, by means of Dervish Aghá, chief of the falconers, to his imperial majesty. The emperor, however, was so much displeased at the high-mindedness of the pontiff, who had said he would wander away to the utmost bounds of the empire if Báki Effendí was not deposed, that on the night of the 28th

of Rajab he issued his royal mandate for deposing the mufti, and appointed Zekeríá Effendí military judge of Romeili, to succeed him in the sacred office. Báki Effendí succeeded Zekeríá in Romeili: the mufti's brother was deposed from his office in Constantinople, and was succeeded by Sinàallah Effendí of Adrianople, who was succeeded by Abú-saúid Zádeh Mohammed Effendí.

This same year, however, on the 7th of Shevál, Báki Effendí lost his situation, which was conferred on Menlá Ahmed, the late Mollah of Anatolia; and the jurisdiction of Anatolia was conferred on Sinàallah Effendí, cazi of Constantinople: and Shemish Effendí, of Adrianople, succeeded Sinàallah Effendí. Mohammed Aghá, one of the Kapújí bashís, on the day preceding the last-mentioned date was appointed ághá of the Janissaries, and his predecessor, Khalíl ághá, was created beg of Kostamúni (in Anatolia).

In consequence of the late tumult which had taken place in Erzerúm, and which had been the cause of Ferhád's removal from office, as before observed, the new grand vezír appointed a number of fierce Janissaries to accompany a Kapújí bashí to Erzerúm, and require an explanation. On the arrival of this body, and in consequence of the authority with which they were invested, they caused several of the inhabitants to be executed, and transmitted a number of others to Constantinople, where they met with that punishment which their crimes had merited.

*Disturbance on the confines of Bosnia and Hungary.—Movements of the Infidels.*

The Beglerbeg of Bosnia, Hasan Páshá, a brave and active man, continued unremittingly to harass the enemy's territories; on which account, the Emperor of Austria sent his ambassador praying to have this officer removed, or otherwise an end was to the existing peace. The ambassador was told in reply, that it belonged to the grand vezír and to Dervísh Páshá, the emperor's favourite, to repel their aggressions against the Ottoman empire; that, he was told, was a sufficient answer. Hasan Páshá, elated by the encouragement which this laconic answer afforded him, marched his Bosnian forces against Bihka, and after a seige of eight days, took it. After

having placed a sufficient garrison in Bihka, he erected two other fortresses in its vicinity; the command of which he conferred on Rustam Beg, an officer who had had the command of Ferhád's militia.

In the month of Jemadi I., Hasan Páshá again assembled his forces, a considerable host: erected a bridge across the Koopa, in the vicinity of Yení Hissár, and penetrated into the country of Croatia. The most famous of the Croatian frontier chiefs, the governors of castles, the Bani of Transylvania and the Croatian generals opposed him with a mighty army, and gave him battle. The conflict was not long doubtful: the Moslems were victorious; the infidel troops were broken, and obliged to retreat. A great number of the fugitive host perished by the edge of the sword: the whole of their fortifications, their stores, six large cannon and other warlike apparatus fell into the hands of the victorious Moslems. After having obtained this splendid victory, the Páshá sent out parties to scour the country, who returned with an immense number of captives and a great deal of spoil. Two thousand heads, and two hundred living infidels were sent under guard of cannon into the interior of the empire as trophies of the Moslem victors. A proclamation was issued by the Páshá, that if ever the infidels should again assemble such another host, they should meet with a similar or severer fate; but it had no effect.

#### *News from the East.*

The ungrateful Sháh of Persia marched this year, with a numerous army, from Kazvín, in Irák, against Abdilmumin, Khán of Uzbek, and proceeded as far as Khorassan. The Khán advanced to the borders of Jiorján to meet the invading army; but finding his troops not sufficiently strong to give the Sháh battle, he retreated to Nishapúr. The Sháh followed him as far as Damghan, and after having reduced the cities of Sebzevár and Isfaráyan in the district of Nishapúr, he returned victorious to Kazvín.

#### *Concerning learned Men.*

*Al Mevleví Mustafa ben Mohammed.*—Mustafa ben Mohammed, one of the most learned men of the age in which he lived, was born in the month of Ramazan 940 of the Híjrah, when his father was cazi of Ipek, in



Romeili; and after having studied under the learned Kází Zádeh and Sachlí Emir, he attended, in 963, Abúlsaúd Effendí, and was appointed head of an academy in 967, with a salary of twenty akchés attached to his office. In ten years afterwards he was salaried by Alí Páshá. In Shaban, A.H. 993, he fell into a lingering illness, which for some time prevented him from active duty. In 998 he was so far recovered as to be able to take upon himself the office of cazi of Tripoli. In the month of Sefer of this year he was deposed, and soon afterwards died at Aksheher, of a severe cold he had caught. He was much celebrated for his great learning, and was a man of generous and mild dispositions. He made a collection of all the common errors, and translated into Turkish Kútb Mekín's History of Yemen (Arabia Felix). He left behind him also several poems in Turkish.

*Mohammed Elvání*, commonly called *Ván Kúllí*.—This venerable prelate was greatly celebrated for his attainments in learning. In his pursuit after knowledge he studied first under Hamid Effendí, and afterwards made the round of forty seminaries. In the end of 977 he became reader to Mohammed Páshá, and afterwards the same in Alí Páshá's Khánegáh and ancient academies. In 979 he was appointed Mufti of Rhodes, and in 981 was removed from Thesalonica, where he had acted as chief judge, to Kutahia. In the end of 991 he retired on a pension of eighty piastres, but was created cazi of Medina in 998; and in the month of Rajab of this year he was translated into the eternal world. His virtues were no less conspicuous than his learning. His letters relative to evidence and the mode of government, as well as his splendid notes, are sufficient to shew his depth of learning and erudition. He translated the Seháhi Júheri (صحاح جوهري) into Turkish, which was placed in Sultán Mohammed Khán's mosque. He translated also Imám Ghazáli's Treatise on Alchemy.

*Almevleví Ali Ben Abdi*, called also *Bitlí Ali*.—Bitlí Ali's father was called Abdí Tchelebí, and was brother to Muftí Jeví Zádeh Sheikh Mohammed Effendí. Bitlí Ali was born in 938. He studied the lives of the learned doctors under Sinán Effendí. In 963 he became thoroughly acquainted with the ancients, and was soon afterwards competent for reading lectures in colleges. In the month Sefer of 981 he was made Fetva of Rhodes: in 983 he was cazi of Sehen: in 993 he held the same office in Brúsa: and

in Shaban 998 he became judge or cazi of Constantinople. In the following year he was deposed, and in the month of Shaban 1000 he died. He was a man of highly respectable connections, and was possessed of marked sincerity and greatness of mind.

*Abdulkadir Ben Emir G'súdári.*—Yálánjek Effendí, son of Sachlí Emir, was helped forward in his career after learning by Sinán Effendí, and in 981 he became rector of Pírí Páshá's academy. In 989, after having been one month president of the Consistory in Sehen, he was appointed cazi of Maroesh and Kutahia. In the month of Sheval, 995, he was translated to the jurisdiction of Tabríz; but in consequence of the violence of his tongue he was afterwards ejected. In 999 he was made cazi of Yenísheher, and in Rabia II. 1000 he was deposed, and soon afterwards died. He was a rash and violent man, and easily precipitated into passion. He wrote the Zeili Shukáik (ذیل شقایق), but his composition is weak, and his style incorrect.

*Almevlevi Mohammed Aïdn of Ak-Hisar.*—This prelate, after having studied the various sciences, attended the lectures of Abú Iliás Isa, and afterwards was sent to study under the very able Ja'fer Effendí. In 963, after having perfected himself in every branch of useful knowledge, and having been for some time in the jurisdiction of Egypt, he was made high priest of Medina. He died about the end of the year 1000, and was buried in the burying-ground of Medina. Three years after his death his poems and other scientific works were collected together. His explanations of the sacred word (the Koran) are short but nervous. Besides a variety of other writings on various subjects, there are also two or three in Persic. The compendious discourse to silk merchants belongs to him.

*Almevlevi Shemaï.*—Shemaï, when once his mind was enlightened by the seeds of knowledge, though a partaker of human vanity, contemplated the end of his life and made the best of it. Free from all worldly cares and entanglements, he presented a lively picture of religion and virtue to all ranks. About the end of the year 1000 his glorious soul was translated into heaven. He was a very able instructor, and left behind him an excellent treatise on morals. He translated into Turkish the Diván of Háfiz, the Gulistán, and the Bústán.

*Almevlevi Sevdí.*—This worthy prelate was a native of Bosnia, and was much distinguished for his high attainments in learning. After having made himself acquainted with the various branches of education he retired on a small income, and taught the domestics belonging to Ibrahim Páshá in his own palace; and in this employment finished his earthly course towards the end of the year 1000. He left behind him remarks on commerce, which are of great importance to the merchant, besides a number of moral sayings, and various valuable translations.

*Almevlevi Abdur-rahím.*—This great man was the younger brother of Kanalí Zádeh Alí Effendí. After he had perfected his education he was employed in the service of Abdulkérím Effendí and Bostán Effendí; and from being intimate with Hasan Beg Effendí, rector in the Queen-mother's academy, he became related to Abú-saúd Effendí, by which means he raised himself greatly in importance. But Abú-saúd, neglecting the respect due to him, sent him into the service of Arab Zádeh Abdulbákí, cazi of Brúsa. At length, however, in 959 he was appointed travelling judge by the Beglerbeg college of Adrianople, with a salary of twenty piastres. In the cities of Romeili, whither he had gone, he manifested his great zeal, and acquired public notoriety by his talents. He was raised to the cazi-ship of Ancora, and died towards the end of the year 1000, whilst he filled the same office in Begsheher. He was a man of excellent character, and was much regretted.

*Al Sheikh Mohammed al Bokhárí.*—This man was a native of Bokhárá, where he studied the divine sciences. After having made himself thoroughly acquainted with the learned men of his day, he travelled to Constantinople. In Romeili and in Silistria he made arrangements for founding several establishments. He died towards the end of the tenth century of the Hijrah, and was buried in the principal sepulchre in the Forum. His splendid achievements are well known to the world.

*Al Sheikh Mohammed Effendí.*—In the city of Brúsa he was distinguished by the appellation of Kowaklí Imám, and because he was the son of an Imám he was called also Kowaklí Zádeh, a name by which he was more generally known. After having perfected his education he was for some time in the service of the learned Merhebá Effendí, where he made himself



eminent by reading and studying the belles lettres, and in making himself acquainted with the Persian language. His talents and acquirements brought him into notice, for he became tutor and companion to Alí Páshá, one of the beglerbegs of Egypt, and to Ferhád Páshá, the grand vezír. He was for a while, also, in the service of Sheikh Chelebí, the philosopher, and secured to himself, by his prudent conduct, the friendship and respect of the best part of society. He lived for some time, it is said, in a cell in Bokhárá in the exercise of devotion. Towards the end of the year 1000 he passed from this vain world into the next. Sivásí Shemsí Effendí collected his books, which show him to have been a most profound adept in the ocean of science. There were, besides those we have now mentioned, an immense number of learned men throughout the Ottoman dominions, such as Nasúhí Effendí of Aksheher and other great and celebrated orators like him, but of whom we cannot speak particularly. It is hoped, however, that in the course of writing this history, other great men may be adverted to. This much is sufficient to awaken the envy of the Christians.

If this does not please you—  
Turn away your face: never mind it.

#### EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1001.

Menlá Ahmed Effendí, about the end of the month Sefer, was deposed, and Bóstaní Zádeh Mohammed Effendí was appointed to succeed him in the jurisdiction of Romeili. On the 8th of Rabia I. the ambassador of the Sháh of Persia, and on the 25th the governor of Gilán, Ahmed Khán, reached Constantinople. The latter of these, Ahmed Khán, governor of Gilán, having come with the view of imploring the protection of the emperor, the great men of the state went forth with great pomp as he was coming into the harbour to meet him. He was conducted to the palace of Yúsuf Páshá, near Kirk-cheshmeh, where all the honours due to his rank and office were shown him. But as it was on account of escaping the molestations of Sháh Abbás he had taken refuge under the royal shadow, he conceived that the royal favour bestowed on him was less than what he

had anticipated, and therefore, grieved and afflicted, he requested to be allowed to go to Baghdád. His request was complied with: a suitable salary was allowed him, and in the month of Rajab he set out on his intended journey. Having many friends and adherents in Shirván, however, he directed his steps thither with the view of endeavouring to effect a change in his own favour, but had no sooner reached the confines of Gunja than the governor of that place seized his person for having dared to depart from the path which had been assigned him, and put him in prison.

*The Spahis create a disturbance in the Diván.*

Whilst the new grand vezír, Síávúsh Páshá, was actively employed in the duties of his office, a very serious disturbance took place. On the 23d of Rabia I. the pay of the troops was issued, when the Janissaries received the full amount of what was due to them; but there not being sufficient money to pay the Spahis the whole of their salaries, they became discontented, raised a great noise, assaulted the royal diván, clamorously demanded the head of the high treasurer, Emír Páshá, who, on account of his great wisdom and prudence, was much respected by the emperor, and stoned their own ághás. The affair came before the royal presence, who ordered forthwith an advance of a hundred yúks (about 100,000 dollars) from the royal coffers, but the obstinate soldiery would not accept of it, whilst they became more violent and unruly. Three times did the chief of the royal messengers and the superintendant of the household troops go forth to try to pacify them, and to advise them to take their allowance. "Take your pay," they said, "and leave off your unreasonable demand with regard to the head of the treasurer:" but this speech was replied to by a shower of stones. The military judges now stepped forward, and with the same view said, "Your pay has been advanced: the treasurer is a descendant of the Prophet: how is it possible that you thirst for his blood, contrary to all law and justice?" This had no effect. The military judges again advanced with the royal letter, containing an exhortation to obedience, which they read to the tumultuous soldiery, but these turned a deaf ear to it. The vezírs made the next attempt at restoring order, but they

were met by a shower of stones, and were obliged to retire. The orator of the Suleimáníyeh, Emír Mohammed Effendí, and the orator of St. Sophia, Ibrahim Effendí, with a number of other súfis, were now called, and being seated before the vezírs, were informed of the events which had just taken place. These sages, on learning the state of matters, made two attempts, by exhortation and advice, to still the tumult, but with no better result than the efforts had which had preceded. After all these fruitless attempts about twenty Seids (descendants of Mohammed) came forward, and remonstrated with the Spahis about the guilt of seeking to encompass the death of an innocent descendant of the Prophet. But they, too, descendants of Mohammed as they were, were hailed with another volley of stones, which actually wounded two of their number. At length the high treasurer, seeing no effort whatever could restrain the soldiery, resolved on presenting himself before them. With this view he folded a green cloth round his turban, and said he would meet his fate, be it what it might. This resolution so alarmed the *chaúshes* and members of the diván, that they raised a tremendous lamentation, and thus deterred him from his rash purpose.

One of their number, however, who was any thing but friendly towards the lord high treasurer, addressed the grand vezír thus: "How long will it be that you will screen this treasurer? On a former occasion you did not hesitate to deliver up Mohammed Páshá, who was a beglerbeg and a vezír. This man is only a treasurer: deliver him up, and you will put an end to the present tumults." One of the military judges, Bóstaní Zádeh, on hearing these sentiments was perfectly astonished, raised his voice and said, "What! is this diván become so far heretical, as even to agree to permit the head of a descendant of the Prophet to be struck off and hurled upon the ground? What madness and insanity is this! Cease, I beseech you, from this rashness, and let justice take her own course." This short but energetic speech had the desired effect on the mind of him to whom it was directed.

In the mean time a royal mandate was sent to the ághá of the Janissaries, requiring him to repair to the diván, whilst the Janissaries were ordered to surround the forum. The immense multitude of ruffians who had rushed into the court continued their tumultuous noise and uproar till the after-

noon ; but at last the ághá of the household troops succeeded in awing this unwelcome concourse, and inspired them with such a degree of terror as caused them to give way. The members of the díván, and other servants of the court, perceiving the Spahis were awed, seized what weapons they could find. One took hold of a cudgel, another of a culinary implement, and a third of a garden rake, and turned with fury on the Spahis, who, through fear of the Janissaries, had turned their backs, and sought to make their escape as fast as they were able. Such, indeed, was the crush and pressure in trying to get out of the court, that three hundred and fifty persons were trampled to death, and the rest hardly escaped with their lives. Thus did God, in his wise providence, defeat the wicked purposes of this lawless multitude, and peace and good order was again restored. The ághá of the Janissaries dispersed the crowd of spectators which had assembled on this occasion, and thus cleared the way for the members of the díván, who all returned to their respective homes. The dead bodies of the insurgents were thrown into the sea.

The emperor was so very much pleased when he learned the fate of the insurgent Spahis, and the conduct of the grand vezír, Sívúsh Páshá, that he presented him with a robe of honour. The money which had been furnished for paying the Spahis was distributed as on former occasions ; but the lord high treasurer was deposed, and Hají Ibrahim Páshá was appointed in his stead. Borhán Effendí was made treasurer of Anatolia.

*The Grand Vezír, Sívúsh Páshá, deposed.*

After the insurgent Spahis were chastised and punished, and the grand vezír was graced with the robe of honour, as a token of his majesty's approbation, he (*i. e.* the grand vezír), next day rode round the city and laid a heavy tariff on commodities in the market-place, and then returned, with great pomp and show, to his palace. On the 25th day of Rabia II., however, the emperor's chamberlain waited on him, demanded, in the name of his master, the seals of office, and sent them to the formerly exiled, but now renowned Khója Sinán Páshá. Sívúsh Páshá, who but yesterday was clothed in a robe of honour, and admired, is to-day, to the astonishment of the vulgar multitude, debased !



Sinán Páshá, the new grand vezír, entered upon the duties of his office on the first day of Jemadi I. This is the third time he became premier. The following able councillors held their situations in the diván at this time, and were accordingly arranged as follows: Ferhád Páshá, who had been deposed from the office of grand vezír, held the second; Ibrahim Páshá, the third; Jeghaleh Zádeh Sinán Páshá, the fourth; Jeráh Mohammed Páshá, the fifth; Boyáli Mohammed Páshá, the sixth; and Khusur Páshá, the seventh.

On the 15th of Shaban the ceremony of circumcision was performed on the young prince, Mirzá Haider, and a splendid feast was given to the great men of the state in the palace of Mohammed Páshá.

*A rupture between the Ottomans and the Austrians.*

The rupture just now announced took place when Hasan Páshá, formerly mentioned, commanded on the frontiers of Bosnia. Before alluding directly to the result of this rupture, it is necessary to observe, first, that Mustafa Páshá, son of Ahmed Páshá, who had been formerly governor of Semendria, had his father's palace in the At-Maidán pulled down, on the ruins of which Sultán Ahmed's mosque was built. This Mustafa Páshá, when he was commander in the Sanjak of Kilis, was in the habit of committing depredations on the frontiers of the infidels' dominions; and this also provoked the Germans and Croatians to cross their respective boundaries, and to commit atrocities against the Osmanlis. The Beglerbeg of Bosnia, Hasan Páshá, entered the country of the Croatians, as we have already observed, and erected two fortresses there, which he named Novograde. On one or two occasions he succeeded in defeating the infidels, and thus acquired some considerable degree of glory. When he communicated this intelligence to the Ottoman court, he stated at the same time, that if the enemy should assemble in greater numbers in future, the Bosnian troops alone would not be able to cope with them, and therefore requested that the troops of Romeili might be sent to his aid. The former grand vezír, Síávúsh Páshá, conferred on a relative of his own, Kirli Hasan Páshá, the government of Romeili, and appointed him to afford the aid which Hasan Páshá deemed necessary. When Kirli Hasan Páshá, with his Romeilian

troops, reached the Sanjak of Serim, he learned that Sinán Páshá had been created grand vezír. It is necessary to observe here, however, that when Sinán Páshá was formerly grand vezír, the váli of Bosnia, Hasan Páshá, gave him his house in Constantinople, but the Páshá refused to give it back when he was deposed. The circumstance of Hasan's seeking back his house offended Sinán Páshá and put him into a complete rage.

About the end of the Ramazan of this year Kirli Hasan Páshá was translated to the vezírship of Temisvar, and his son, Mohammed Páshá, was made governor of Romeili in his father's stead.

Hasan Páshá, proud of the succours he had reason to anticipate, and, in addition to his eruptions for the last two years, in violation of the existing treaty of peace, went and besieged a fortress called Siska, in the enemy's country. The infernal infidels, in consequence of this infringement of the peace by Hasan Páshá, collected an immense army, the command of which was given to the accursed wretch, Zerín Oghlí, ruler of Katpaz. With this mighty army, furnished with all sorts of apparatus of war, he marched to the frontiers of Bosnia.

Hasan Páshá, in the mean time, becoming hopeless as to the aid which had been promised him, and not suspecting that the enemy was on his march to attack him, threw two bridges over the Kupa, near Yení Hísár, and marched over into Croatia. Hearing of the movements of the enemy, he hastened to prepare to give them battle, although he had only about ten thousand Bosnians under his command. Being a very brave and fearless man, he acquired very great glory by his skill in military tactics on this occasion.

The enemy having asked assistance from Maximilian, brother of the Emperor of Austria, received a large augmentation of forces, raised by the great princes of Germany, and thus became much more formidable. This vast multitude, many of whom were covered with steel, resembled the raging waves of the sea. The brave and veteran Páshá resolved on encountering the enemy, and commanded Gházi Khója Mimí Beg, father of Serkhúsh Ibrahim Páshá, celebrated in war, to cross the river and reconnoitre the enemy. He did so; and when he returned, he assured Hasan Páshá that it would be altogether ruinous to give battle to so superior a force

as the enemy possessed. When Ibrahím delivered this disheartening report Hasan happened to be playing at chess, and, after hearing him patiently to the end of his tale, said, with a stern voice, "Curse you, you despicable wretch! to be afraid of numbers: out of my sight!" and immediately mounted his horse, passed his troops across the bridges he had before erected, and prepared for the conflict, which was not long in commencing. The infidels gained, at the very commencement, an evident advantage; which Zerín-Oghlí no sooner perceived than he gave orders for a general assault, which proved fatal to the Osmanlis. The Páshá of Kilis, Sultán Zádeh Mustafa Páshá, mentioned above, perished. The troops of Izvernick were routed: those of Usk fell into confusion and were repulsed; but the veteran troops of Novo, well skilled in the use of muskets, maintained their ground for a while, slew a great number of the opposing káfirs; but the son of Zerín, by an artful manœuvre, succeeded in driving them back, and cut them to pieces. The Moslems were now obliged to retreat to their bridges, when a most terrible conflict ensued, in which Khója Ghází Mimí Beg perished. The brave Hasan Páshá himself also met with his fate, having fallen into the river with one of the bridges, which had been cut to prevent the pursuit of the enemy. Such was the result of this terrible day. Though Hasan had acted throughout with the utmost skill, and had fought with unequalled bravery; though his military prudence had never once forsaken him, yet such was the immense superiority of the enemy's forces, augmented besides by forty thousand Germans, that it does not appear surprising that the Moslems were defeated. Eight thousand Moslems fell or were drowned. The nephew of Rustem Páshá, Mohammed Beg, and three other Sanjak princes, perished along with Hasan Páshá in the river at the falling of the bridge. The victorious infidels retired from the field of battle in triumph.

When intelligence of this unfortunate day reached the court of Constantinople, the ocean-like zeal of the emperor was stirred up within him, and at once led him to determine to prosecute the war with vigour and without delay

*The Grand Vezir, Sinán Páshá, determines on carrying the war into Hungary.*

The grand vezir, Sinán Páshá, ambitious of acquiring fame similar to that which Ferhád Páshá, the conqueror of kingdoms, had acquired, found now a sufficient stimulus to awaken his zeal. The Austrians having, for the last twelvemonth, neglected sending their accustomed tribute; the defeat and discomfiture of the veteran Hasan Páshá by the most consummate general of the enemy, and in which defeat he himself, Mustafa Páshá, and several other princes, besides many thousand Moslems, had fallen martyrs, roused the indignation of the vezir, and at once led him to determine on carrying the war into the Hungarian dominions. Winter arrived, however, before the vezir had accomplished the whole of the preparations for the intended expedition, which he had resolved on conducting in person, and therefore was advised to postpone his departure till the spring. But the vezir was not to be moved from the resolution he had formed: none of the considerations which had been advanced to cause him to put off had the least effect in turning him from his purpose, and in fifteen days afterwards the whole of his apparatus was in movement, *i. e.* on the 12th of Sheval, 1001 of the Hijrah.

Although Sinán Páshá had succeeded, in so short a time, in making the necessary preparations for the war, yet it was not customary, unless the emperor himself went forth to war, that the lord high treasurer and ághá of the Janissaries should go forth; and therefore twelve thousand Janissaries, destined for the war, were put under the command of a deputy. Six regiments of paid troops remained behind. The salary of the troops who were on the eve of marching was paid to them at the vezir's palace, and on the 18th of Sheval the grand vezir commenced his march, leaving behind him Ferhád Páshá as governor of Constantinople.

The grand vezir reached Adrianople about the beginning of the eleventh month of the year, where, after a few days rest, he recruited five hundred men, experienced in the use of arms, and sent them off with his other troops, and under proper leaders, for Belgrade. When he came to Wazansha, at the request of the inhabitants, he appointed proper persons to commence building a couple of inns, a mosque, two baths, and a magazine for mer-



chants; for which splendid and beneficial purpose he advanced thirty thousand dollars from his own private purse towards defraying the expenses. The place was formerly a miserable wretched hole, but by transplanting the inhabitants of two villages to it, it acquired in time respectability. After passing through Philippopolis and Sophia, he caused a palanka and an inn to be erected at a place called Batchina, in the district of Yaghodina, a dangerous and difficult pass, and exposed to banditti. On the 7th of Dhu'l-hijja he reached Belgrade, and after having ordered a distribution of provisions, &c. to the various troops, he sent off his military stores by water to Buda. On the 17th he reached the plains of Sirim, and on the last day of the month he arrived at Usk, where without loss of time he made preparations for attacking Besperim and Palaha. In the month of Moharrem, 1002, he crossed the bridge of Usk, and after four days' rest he received information from Bodin (Buda), that the Emperor of Germany, and other infidel princes, were posted with an army of twenty thousand men below Yanuk. This information accelerated the Páshá's movements; and after holding a council of war, it was determined that, without loss of time, they should march against Besperim and Palaha. The Beglerbeg of Romeili, Mohammed Páshá, was ordered to proceed to Buda and transport thence six large cannon, two field-pieces, and other stores, to Alba Julia (Weissenburg, in Siebenbürgen); and the commandant of Buda, Hasan Páshá, was also ordered, at the same time, to accompany him with the troops under his command.

The troops under the grand vezír halted two days in the plains of Mehaj, for the purpose of receiving their rations of provisions, and immediately after the distribution, the troops of Anatolia advanced first, and the others followed. The cannon and troops from Buda joined the main army when passing through Dallderese, and on reaching Alba Julia, the Beglerbeg of Bosnia, with the Anatolian troops, marched against Besperim, and encamped before it on the 20th of Moharrem. The commandant of Buda, Hasan Páshá, with the veteran borderers under his command, commenced the assault, and after three days' hard fighting the infidels became disheartened and proposed to capitulate, which was acceded to by the Moslem conquerors. The Kapúdán of Besperim, his troops, and the whole of the

inhabitants, evacuated the city, when it was immediately taken possession of by the Moslem troops: but the peasants in the surrounding country remained in their villages. On Friday of the first week, after taking possession of it, prayers were offered up, a Sanjak Beg was appointed, and Besperim was attached to the jurisdiction of Buda. After a rest of four days, the troops advanced to besiege Palaha which, though of no great strength, was surrounded with extensive suburbs. Around the whole was a kind of marsh, and on one side was a mountain or hill covered with wood. The Moslem troops, in their heroic ardour after conquest, lost no time in preparing for commencing their operations, and after two days' struggle the place fell into their hands, on the 1st of the month of Sefer, and was afterwards attached to Besperim.

In the meantime information reached the Moslems that the enemy's troops, which were posted below Yanuk, intended to march on Alba Julia; and that another body of the enemy's troops was encamped in the plains of Tata. It was considered in a council of war, that as the Kasímgún (Michaelmas) was fast approaching, it would be more advisable to postpone any further attack upon the enemy till it was once over.

About this time Haram Aghá, ághá of the Spahis, it is said, went with a party of his men to the mountain called Yakúah, about two leagues distant from the enemy's camp. Next morning, however, at the hour of prayer, he was suddenly attacked by the enemy, who poured in upon him in great numbers, slew him on the very carpet on which he was offering up his devotions, seized his banners, and killed a considerable number of his men. The Aghá of the Salihdárs was appointed chief of the Spahis in his room.

The Janissaries and Spahis who were present at the late victories obtained over the enemy received an augmentation of salary for their valour, and were ordered to return to Buda; the plains of which they reached on the middle of Sefer, the day of Kasím, and where distribution of provisions was made to the various troops. After this was once over, the Ketkhodá of the Janissaries (*i. e.* the officer who commanded the Janissaries in room of their Aghá, who was not present in this war), placed two legions of Janissaries in the fortress of Buda, ordered his arsenal, waggons, and other

heavy baggage to be moved forward to Pest, sent his remaining Janissaries to Segdin to remain there during the winter, whilst all the other Aghás and writers or secretaries remained with him at Buda. Ten days after Kasím day, the Serdár, or commander-in-chief, gave orders to strike his tents, and marched for Belgrade, where he went into winter-quarters, which, however, he did not reach till the 17th of Rabia II. Rezván Aghá was sent off to Constantinople to announce the victories which the Moslem arms had obtained over the infidels: the young Spahis were sent to Nikboli (Nicompolis in Bulgaria), and the Salihdár of Widín was ordered to take up his winter-quarters to the left of Belgrade.

*The Enemy advances to Belgrade.*

The commander-in-chief, Sinán Páshá, had scarcely reached Belgrade, when the Austrians appeared before it and fought an obstinate battle, but were at last defeated. Many thousands of them perished, and their cannon fell into the hands of the victorious Moslems. After they were repulsed, Hasan Páshá collected all the troops scattered in Buda and Pest, and in the country round about, and advanced to meet the enemy, who had put themselves in order of battle. The enemy's troops were covered with steel, and had a very singular appearance. Their horsemen had breastplates of iron to shield them, and even their horses seemed to be bound together by chains of the same metal.

When the enemy perceived the efforts which had been made by the Moslems, and how they were preparing to meet them, they, thinking the moment had arrived when they might easily and without resistance seize on Buda, immediately after the first assault fled towards that city. The brave Hasan, however, pursued them; and falling on them in the rear hewed down a great many of them. The enemy, on perceiving the havoc which Hasan and his heroic associates committed amongst them, marked him out as the chief object of their hatred and vengeance, and their swords were directed against him; but being covered with a coat of mail, he for a while received no injury. Being excessively forward, and impatient in carrying destruction among the enemy, he received at last several wounds and fell from his horse. The commandant of the fortress, Ahmed Aghá, a

man of great heroism, handed him another, and though wounded in several places he maintained his ground ; and it was only after long and continued acts of the greatest bravery that those around him succeeded in getting him to retire from the scene of action. Those of his followers, and who fought on foot, maintained the struggle till night, and not one of them escaped alive from the field of battle. The rest of his troops fled towards Buda and Pest, and Hasan himself was carried in his wounded condition to Buda, whence he sent a report to the Serdár at Belgrade of what had happened, and requested immediate assistance.

*Felk falls into the hands of the Enemy.*

After the defeat of the army of Buda the enemy retreated, and after making a circuitous route, marched against Felk and besieged it. Sinán Páshá, son of Mohammed Páshá, who had been sent by the commander-in-chief, and a few strangers, five in all, moved slowly forward to Felk and perceived the extremity to which the besieged were reduced, and who in the end were necessitated to evacuate the fortress. This took place on the first of Rabia II. The execrated infidels robbed them of all the money and valuables they were possessed of before leaving the place ; and what is very remarkable, notwithstanding this treatment, two or three hundred of them actually became apostates, and were content to remain in Felk. But it must be observed, however, that the majority of the people of Felk had a predilection for heresy, and therefore the conduct of the apostates now mentioned need not be much wondered at ; though it must be confessed the innocent were also infected by them.

It is also very remarkable that the spring of that year commenced sooner than usual by two months, but it was short. The fruit trees were soon covered over with blossoms, and in a short time afforded abundance of fruit. By this fortuitous circumstance the hateful infidels were enabled to subsist and pursue their hostile purposes, and they were but too successful. Several castles and places of strength and importance fell into their hands.

Such of the inhabitants of Felk as chose to leave it went to Sitchan, but the commander and troops of that fortress were thrown into such a panic at hearing of the infidels that they all fled, carrying with them what they



could conveniently take away. The enemy found it of course forsaken, and immediately placed a garrison of five hundred men in it. The troops in Sunta, in the country of Moravia, also fled for fear of the enemy, and went into the surrounding mountains ; but their commander, and about ten men, had the courage to remain where they were. When the enemy appeared before Sunta, the commander and his ten men commenced firing their cannon, in order to lead them to suppose that the fortress was well supplied with men ; and in fact this stratagem succeeded so far as to awe them ; and a report happening to circulate that some thousands of Tátárs were on their march to aid the fortress, caused the enemy to retreat altogether, when the fugitive troops returned to their duty.

Those other faithless runaways and heartless Martlooses (a sort of Christians), who had fled when the above-mentioned and other places fell into the enemy's hands, joined together and formed themselves into a band of robbers about Waj, and commenced committing excess and villany against the peasants in the country. The Páshá's deputy, however, soon dispersed them, and hanged five of their ringleaders as an example of terror to others. Such of those vagrant fugitives as actually joined the enemy met with no better fate. The enemy considered them as being neither useful to them nor to the Turks, and therefore caused their heads to be cut off.

In the meantime the enemy concentrated in the vicinity of Waj, and after very much fighting reduced the fortress of Novograde. About the same time, also, some of the chiefs of Waj failed in their courage and fled, when a troop of infidels came and set fire to the suburbs, and carried off what plunder they were able. On the 19th of Jemadi II., when the sound of the cannon ceased to be any more heard from Novograde, the Wajian chiefs, excited by curiosity, ran towards evening to Novograde, to see how matters stood there, and were sufficiently confounded when they saw the enemy rushing from all directions into the place, distressing the inhabitants, thrusting them forth naked and disgraced, and committing every sort of violence on these poor creatures. When these naked wretches, thus thrust out of Novograde, met the Wajian chiefs, they warned them of their danger. " Watch your villages and city," said they, " the infidels will soon be at your heels. What do you want here ? What are you gazing at ? Have you not sufficient exam-



ple in our fate?" The Wajian chiefs took the hint, and fled to Buda. Nevertheless, the governor of Waj and four or five of his men had the courage to remain behind. The fortress of Sunta was afterwards burned to the ground by order of Hasan Páshá. Several of the Novogradians came to seek a retreat in the city of Waj before its suburbs were burned by the enemy, but they were robbed and spoiled, even of their geese and hens, on that occasion of rapine and plunder. A party of horsemen came and surrounded Waj, but the desperate inhabitants of the inner fortress were so excited at the conduct and rage of the infidels, that they exerted every nerve in self-defence, and by their heroic bravery dispersed their antagonists from their gates, many of whom went away wounded. The whole party afterwards returned to Novograde.

*The Faithless are chastised.*

Mohammed Páshá, son of the grand vezír and commander-in-chief, and Hasan Páshá, agreed together to send a report of the disasters which had happened; and also an account of those Begs and Aghás who had either fled from or had given up the cities and fortresses under their command to the enemy. The Aghás of Sunta, for not saving the cannon of Novograde before it fell into the hands of the enemy, were imprisoned and tortured. The Beg of Semendria, Wadanali Ramazán Zádeh, the commandant of Novograde, was degraded and imprisoned. The Beg of Novograde, Karah Kurahli Mohammed Beg, was secretly strangled by the Janissaries. But these severe measures were very grievous and distressing to the champions of the borders. The above-mentioned Mohammed Beg was one of the ancient heroes and most virtuous of that class.

In Súbúska Palanka, otherwise called Shúmushka, a few horsemen that garrisoned it killed with their own hands their women and children rather than let them fall into the hands of the infidels who had come to besiege the place, and then by a desperate sortie made their way through the enemy. One or two companies of the enemy's swift cavalry pursued them a whole day and night, but were at length repulsed by the arrows and arms of the pursued.

*The base and ignoble Infidels besiege Khutván.*

When Novograde fell into the hands of the enemy, the Chaúsh of the deputy of Ramazán Zádeh was brought before the king (of Hungary, I suppose), but was afterwards set at liberty. This man returned to Buda in the month of Rajab, and informed his Moslem brethren that the emperor himself (*i. e.* the Emperor of Germany) was making preparations for coming to lay siege to the city and fortress of Buda with an army of 200,000 swine (*i. e.* Christians). The Budians lost no time in putting every thing in proper order for defence, and for giving the infidels a reception. Some time before the Moslem army was put in motion in the spring of that year, and before the new year had commenced, the enemy fitted out two armies: the one of which was sent against Osterghún and the other to Khutván. It was the one which was sent against Khutván that reduced the fortress of Novograde, and the siege of the former fortress commenced in the month of Jemadi II. The Beg of Khutván, Arslán Páshá, was a man of some levity, but a most excellent swordsman, and the whole of the inhabitants were warlike and brave. By their intrepidity and quickness in firing their cannon many of the enemy fell in the siege. They were under the necessity, however, of sending to Buda for assistance, when, in compliance with their request, Mohammed Páshá, Sinán's son, the Vali of Buda, and Hasan Páshá, on the 8th of Shaban, hastened forward to their aid with their respective troops. Osterghún was besieged at the same time.

When this auxiliary army drew near to Khutván, they perceived a body of the enemy stationed on the banks of the river, which flowed a little below the city on the north side; and therefore, with the view of accomplishing their purpose, they on the 11th went about a mile further up the river in order to cross. The enemy thought, when they saw this, that the Moslems fled to escape them, and immediately pursued after them and got in front of them, when a tremendous carnage ensued. Mohammed Páshá and his corps of Spahis stood back, whilst Hasan Páshá with his veteran borderers was left to cope alone with the infidel soldiery. In this desperate contest a very great number of the iron-cased infidels perished, and almost the whole of the heroic borderers fell martyrs. Hasan Páshá himself, like

a furious lion, brought incredible numbers of them to the ground. His clothes unfortunately, in consequence of the bursting of a shell, caught fire, but were extinguished without difficulty. From the explosion of the gunpowder he was severely injured. The commander-in-chief of the Moslem troops, Mohammed Páshá, son of the grand vezír, when he saw his brave associates sorely pressed by the superior force of the enemy, heartlessly and cowardly furlled his banners, and returned with his dastardly Spahis to Buda. Just as the remaining Moslems were about to retire in despair, the Beg of Ancora, Neirání Páshá, issued most fortunately from Khutván with a party, who attacked the enemy with such fury as to drive them back with considerable loss both of men and cannon. The larger guns he spiked. The enemy, however, soon recovered themselves, and returned with greater vigour and renewed strength, and continued the siege of Khutván till the month of Ramazán, when they became altogether disheartened. The prudence and skill of the besieged was too much for them.

In this battle 4,000 Moslems fell martyrs, and very many of the infidels perished. When the account of this day's transactions was transmitted to the court of Constantinople, the glory and honour which Hasan Páshá had most certainly gained would have been honourably acknowledged; but by the grand vezír's influence, the honour and distinction which ought to have been conferred on Hasan Páshá was awarded to his own son Mohammed Páshá. Besides an augmentation of authority, he received a splendidly ornamented sword set in jewels, and a handsome robe of fur, which was sent him by the emperor.

#### *The Siege of Osterghún.*

The body of troops sent to lay siege to Osterghún was afterwards largely augmented by those other troops which had been engaged against Khutván, and the siege began to assume a regular appearance in the month of Shaban. The peasants and villagers, encouraged by the presenee of the enemy, declared in their favour, and committed enormous excesses. About the end of this month another body of the enemy attacked the city of Waj, slew several of the inhabitants, and carried off about forty or fifty horsemen, besides a number of Martloos (Christian) women and children.

Some time previous to this, 2,000 horsemen, sent from Bosnia and Semendria, were appointed to settle themselves any where about Osterghún, and were allowed to profit by any thing the chance of war might put in their way. These perfidious wretches, however, entered into a treacherous correspondence with the enemy, who had, by that time, surrounded the city. They shot at the rate of 1,800 cannon-balls per day against the walls of the city and fortress.

In the mean time a body of experienced Janissaries and other troops were sent to their assistance. Three times did the Beg of Rhodes convey to them, in galleys and other boats, timely aid; and completely prevented the enemy from benefiting by any assistance sent them by water, besides a variety of other important services which he had rendered to the besieged.

The enemy, intent on reducing Osterghún, and after several days' battering with their cannon, at length commenced an assault, but were driven back with immense loss. The Hungarians, who acted at some considerable distance, directed their guns against the place, and succeeded in laying several portions of the walls level with the ground. They now attempted to deceive. They told a thousand idle stories about the propriety of following the example of the people of Felk and Novograde, and thus to yield and give up the fortress; but the heroic Moslems answered: "We are Romelian heroes and true-hearted veterans, and shall never yield nor give up the place: we are resolved on continuing our resistance. Behold, you accursed! you deride us by saying that an army of Tátárs, riding on tortoises, are coming to our aid; but we are sure of immense succours from Buda, either to-day or to-morrow: and then we shall be swine if we don't mount you all on tortoises and send you to hell." Such was the reply of the besieged to the enemy, who finding their fraudulent attempts to deceive were in vain, pushed on the siege with all their vigour, and advanced to a third general assault. Among their leaders one was observed who was very active in stimulating the soldiery on to the assault, and who wore a breast-plate, and a gold chain suspended from his neck. The Beg of Osterghún observed to those around him, that if that execrated wretch could be disposed of, the infidel army would immediately retreat. "Whoever lays him flat in the dust," said he, "shall receive a sanjak, and whatever



else he may ask." This was so sooner uttered than one Osmán, a brave man, and an excellent marksman, levelled his piece at the gold-chained infidel, cried "Yá allah," and in a moment shot him through the breast, when he sank from his horse, and was dragged along the ground. The besiegers were now panic-struck, and retired in the greatest precipitation towards their fortifications; but were hotly pursued by the veteran Moslems, who rushed out after them, and slew very many of them. The enemy, however, soon rallied again. Every peasant in the country round about, able to handle a sword, was collected; and with this augmentation of new strength they again returned to the siege and work of destruction. The unfortunate Moslems, notwithstanding the heroism they had displayed, and the firmness with which they had acted, were at length, by famine and hard labour, reduced to complete weakness; whilst the troops acting under the King (of Hungary) joined the besiegers. Thus strengthened, the enemy began to set the city on fire in several places.

At this critical moment an army under the command of the válís of Temishvar and Bosnia, and which had been sent off by order of the Serdár in the month of Ramazán, reached Pest in time enough to hear the sound of the cannon from Osterghún; but it was the middle of the month before the vanguard of this army advanced so far as to be discovered by the enemy. This new appearance of assistance in favour of the Moslems in the city of Osterghún so dismayed the enemy, that they immediately relinquished their object, forsook their tabúr or fortifications, and fled away in the utmost precipitation. Now was the time for taking revenge. The Moslems, like raging wolves, rushed out of their strong-hold, slew about a thousand of the enemy, did what damage they were able to their fortifications, took a number of captives, spiked their field-pieces, seized all the powder and goods they could easily carry, set fire to what remained, and returned to the city in triumph with the spoil they had taken. But the enemy, after recovering from the panic into which they had been put, and after the army which had come from Buda had returned back, retraced their steps, and again took possession of their tabúr or fortifications, exercising violence and cruelty on those who had been hired by the month in the villages belonging to Buda.



Before finishing this paragraph we must add, by way of postscript, that the enemy continued their hostile operations against Khutván and Osterghún till they learned that the grand vezír was marching with the royal army to Buda, when they removed to Komran, where they concentrated their forces. The Valí of Temishvar who had come to aid the city of Osterghún, and who was at this time in Pest, heard that a palanka in his own government had revolted and declared for the enemy. He returned and executed the whole of them.

*The Request of the Prime Minister—the Succour of the Magnificent Emperor.*

In consequence of the several disasters which the Moslem arms had sustained during the late spring, the evils and oppressions to which the garrisons on the frontiers had been exposed, and also because the contest was not yet ended, the mind of the grand vezír, when he considered all these things, was very much afflicted; and therefore, as the most effectual remedy for his grief, and for securing a more favourable state of things, he sent, at once, an account of the whole state of matters, and also a statement of the finances, and that of the army, to the court of Constantinople. The grand vezír found, it would appear, that military movements were a difficult thing to attend to, especially every time a fixed period was necessary to be observed with respect to those movements. Besides, the army of Romeili had been precluded from attending to their harvest. In short, all these things together had a powerful effect on Sinán Páshá's mind, and led him to regret his having had any thing to do with the war at all.

In these circumstances, and being no way prepared to prosecute the war, he called together his emirs, commanders of castles, chiefs of the army, nobles, and other great and learned men, to consult them as to the steps which ought, in their situation, to be adopted. But fortunately, at this time, the succours, as to men and money, which his letters requested from the government of Constantinople, were hastening towards him.

It may be observed here, that it was not customary for the ághás of the Janissaries to go forth to war, except along with the emperor. On this occasion this rule was departed from, and Sáleh Mohammed Páshá was ap-

pointed to conduct the Janissaries to join the grand vezír Ibrahim Aghá, superintendent of the armoury, with a thousand men-at-arms, and a sufficient number of portable tents were attached to this expedition. They set out for Belgrade on the 1st of Rajab. On the Segban Báshí, the commander of the guard, devolved the duties belonging to Sáleh Mohammed Páshá's office during his absence from Constantinople.

Before these arrangements took place, however, Kapúdán Jeghala Zádeh was ordered out to sea with a fleet of five galleys carrying troops, who reached the Mediterranean before the middle of Shaban. Ghází Gherái Khán of the Crimea, was also required to join the grand vezír, and assist him by his counsels and by his arms.

About the middle of the above-mentioned month, the grand vezír, Sinán Páshá, began to collect his troops from their winter quarters, and commenced pitching his tents in the plains of Serim, when he ordered distribution of provision, &c. to be made to the men under his own command; where also he was soon afterwards joined by the following chiefs: viz. Mohammed Páshá, Valí of Sivás; Mohammed Páshá, Valí of Mercësh; Alí Páshá, Valí of Vœrka; Ahmed Páshá, the serdár or commander-in-chief of Buda; and Ahmed Páshá, governor of Bosnia: and where, too, the ághá and his Janissaries, sent from Constantinople, joined his camp.

The grand vezír and his associates in arms, after having consulted as to the mode of commencing their operations, resolved on attacking Yanuk first, and accordingly sent off their heavy baggage towards Tata. Mohammed Páshá, the grand vezír's son, was appointed to command the artillery; the Governor of Buda, Hasan Páshá, to head the Cherkajé troops or Iägers; the Governor of Bosnia, the advance guard; the Beglerbeg of Anatolia was appointed to command the right wing; another Beglerbeg was to command the left wing; and the Páshá or Valí of Mercësh, in conformity to ancient custom, was appointed to command the rear-guard.

On the 14th of Sheval the grand army advanced to the plains of Tata. Tata lies in a plain in the vicinity of mountains near the Danube, opposite to Komran, an island in the Danube, about two leagues from Tata. The enemy, who had posted themselves on the opposite side of the river, had also extended their lines as far as Tata; but this place after three

days' siege, yielded to the conquerors. A garrison was thrown into it, and such of the enemy as escaped from it fled to Komran.

In the mean time the Khán of the Tátárs reached the royal camp. He was seated on a beautiful horse, and alighted from it at the door of the grand vezír's pavilion. After having rested himself on a suitable sofa, and taken some refreshment, a handsome ewer ornamented with gold was presented before him, in which he washed his hands, and which was afterwards handed to his armour-bearer. The Khán was also presented with a sword adorned with jewels, a bridle ornamented with gold, a two-edged dagger, a club with an iron head, and a most beautiful charger. Five thousand pieces of pure gold were also presented to him. The whole of the begs or princes, and such of the ághás as were present on this august occasion, conducted the Khán to his own royal tent. The fortress of Semarin, in the neighbourhood of Tata, was evacuated by the enemy and taken possession of by the Moslem troops.

*Yanuk besieged.*

This fortress, formerly called Kilvár, is situate on the banks of the Raab, which pours its waters into the Danube, and was on this occasion surrounded on the land side by an immense ditch filled with water, across which was a drawbridge which led into the city and fortress.

The Moslem army commenced their offensive operations by first attacking those of the enemy on the outside, and seized a number of prisoners. On the 18th of Dhu'l Kada, after the siege was regularly formed, skirmishing became general. The division of the Spahis under the command of the Salihdár watched the trenches, and two other divisions were appointed to guard the camp and money-chest. A thousand men were employed in carrying earth from two different quarters, who daily threw a thousand *bedalooshkas* into the fosse. On the opposite side of the Danube, the enemy erected their tabúr or fortifications, directly opposite the fortress, and constructed also a bridge which communicated with the tabúr and the fortress, but which was not allowed to remain open for either man or beast. Twenty days thus passed away in mutual hostilities and skirmishing, when, behold, Duke Mathias, the brother of the Emperor of Austria, encamped in the

vicinity of Komran with an army of 100,000 German, Hungarian, and similar infidels. A man of high rank, a Count, son-in-law to the King (of Hungary), was governor of the city and fortress. On one of the first ten days of the lunar month (*i. e.* on the 10th of Dhu'l hijjah), ten thousand of these execrated wretches rushed out and slew three thousand Moslems, whilst engaged in performing the duties and ceremonies of their religion on that solemn day, and committed, besides, some other injuries. They were, however, soon obliged to retrace their steps and hide themselves within their strong-holds, but it was found impossible to get them to shut the gate and prevent annoyance from that quarter.

It appeared to have become necessary, from some reason or other, to effect some changes. Accordingly we find, that the offices held by the son of the grand vezír and Hasan Páshá were exchanged, the one for the other. The government of Romeili was, therefore, transferred to Hasan Páshá, and that of Buda to the vezír's son. Hasan Páshá, in consequence of this exchange, entered the trenches opposite the gate, and by a well-directed fire of ten field-pieces, forced the besieged to close their gate. In short, Hasan manifested to every unprejudiced person what force, properly directed, might effect.

*The Moslem Warriors begin an assault.*

The appearance of the Duke Mathias with his many thousand infidels encouraged the besieged, and supported them in their obstinacy, and therefore it was evidently seen that, unless the Moslems crossed to the other side of the river and defeated this host, they would never be able to reduce the place. Accordingly, and in conformity to this view of the matter, materials which had been ordered from Buda and Osterghún for the purpose of erecting three bridges, were immediately put in requisition, and every effort made to get them ready for immediate use.

A party of Tátárs who had swam on their horses across to the enemy's side, were no sooner discovered than they were checked by a body of horse and foot, which so frightened them that they turned about and swam back again. Several of them, however, perished. In order to prevent occurrences of this nature, the enemy made themselves trenches along the bank



of the river: but their trenches were of no use to them. Two thousand men volunteered their services, and crossed over in boats; and before the enemy had time to look about them, they made themselves masters of these trenches, and completely routed their occupiers. The Moslems now commenced with all speed to erect their bridges; and to prevent their being annoyed in this work, and in order to scare the enemy, they placed some of their largest cannon on an eminence on the brink of the river, and commenced firing. The enemy, blind to their preparations, again endeavoured to gain possession of the brink of the river: but were repulsed with immense slaughter, when they were obliged to fall back on their fortifications. The Moslems, in consequence of this victory, succeeded in finishing their bridges, and, under covert of the night, accompanied by a body of Tátárs, crossed to the other side, approached the enemy's fortifications, put the infidels to flight, who, it must be observed, destroyed the bridges which they themselves had erected in the vicinity of the fortress. The victorious Moslems returned with immense booty: such as cannons, powder, arms, waggons, and other heavy articles, besides a great number of loaded waggons full of valuable stores. Three hundred boats, and four hundred cannon, were taken possession of in the river, besides powder, ball, and three thousand tents: all which became the property of the Ottomans. The Archduke Mathias himself was wounded; and the brother of the Duke, who commanded the French troops, was shot dead by a cannon-ball, and ten thousand other infidels perished on this occasion. Many captives were also taken. After obtaining this singular and splendid victory over Mathias, the Moslems returned to the siege, and continued their operations against the city and fortress till the following year, when they took it; but of this more afterwards, when we have said a few things with regard to the notorious rebel Michael, Waiwode of Valachia.

The Waiwodas of Valachia were in the habit of providing horses and oxen for the purpose of conveying cannon and other apparatus of war when they were required to do so. But when messengers from Belgrade, in the name of the grand vezír, required them to supply the army before Besperim with three hundred of those animals, for the purpose of conveying provisions and money, they manifested no small degree of tardiness in complying, for which



they were severely reprimanded. And again, when they were required to send four hundred waggons with food and money to the troops before Yanuk, they played the same trick, for which neglect the drivers were ordered to be executed; but by the intervention and intercession of the grand vezír's son, Mohammed Páshá, their lives were spared, but the presents which they carried along with them were rejected with disdain. It was inconsistent, it was said, that a country like Valachia should be controlled by one or two indolent infidels, and therefore they might expect that next spring the war would be carried thither. The men who had their lives spared to them were kept prisoners, but were afterwards set at liberty. But the prevaricator Michael, and this is the chief point to be observed, became so enraged at the disgrace and dishonour thus manifested, that the incorrigible wretch raised the standard of defiance, and became the ostensible instigator of the rebellion which afterwards broke out in Valachia in the following year, and to which, when we relate the events of that year, we shall advert.

The arrival of Ghází Gherái Khán from a country in which never infidel stepped, and whose splendid achievements in war it is impossible fully to delineate, relates chiefly to the same period.

About the middle of Rabia II., Fatima, daughter of the august and noble monarch of the world, was united by marriage to the vezír Khalíl Páshá in the old palace. At the commencement of the same month ambassadors from Abdullah Khán, sultan of Transoxania, arrived in Constantinople. About the same time, also, the admiral, Jeghala Zádeh, sailed with a fleet to Messina, put the inhabitants into great fear, carried off several galleys, and returned. The Jews and Christians hitherto wore blue and yellow turbans; but it having been determined to humble and disgrace them, they were ordered, in future, to wear fillets made of black and scarlet cloth.

#### EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1003 H.

##### *The conquest of Yanuk.*

The siege of Yanuk, at the commencement of this year, 1003 of the Hijrah, had continued a month. By the batterings of the cannon and the springing of mines, both the outside and inside of Yanuk were completely

damaged. On the 17th of Moharrem (the first month of the year), and after an immense quantity of earth had been thrown into the fosse, and when a breach had been effected in the walls or ramparts, a general assault was announced. This news fearfully alarmed the besieged. They considered the defeat of the archduke's army, and thought of the vast numbers that had already perished in the siege. Their fears increased; their condition, they saw, was perilous. To try to escape by means of planks would be both difficult and dangerous. Their courage altogether failed them; and many, for fear of the cannons of the Osmánlis, hid themselves within the inner works in ditches. In short, all resistance ceased.

Towards evening, two thousand of the most celebrated of these hateful infidels came forth and importuned the commander-in-chief to spare their lives. Their request was granted. Next morning their commander, the malignant count, came out with ten thousand men, all covered with steel, and said; "This German army, who have crept into holes in the earth, have been influenced by fear more than any thing else. Otherwise," continued he, "so many thousands of muskets ought to have been adequate to prevent you from even looking at the place." Thus saying, he wept and fell down dead before the conquerors. The remains of this royal count were afterwards put into a tomb and covered over with stone, when several rounds were fired over it. The rest of the prisoners were all shipped off in boats to their own country, and Senja Osmán Páshá and two thousand soldiers were appointed to garrison Yanuk for three years, at a stipulated rate of pay. A thousand Janissaries from Waj, three hundred cannoneers, and a thousand armourers were also added to the above number; and every thing else necessary for defence was fully attended to.

After the defeat of the archduke, Ghází Gherái Khán marched against the fortress of Papa. The infidels on the approach of the Tátárs fled, and left the place for them to take possession of it.

*Komran laid siege to.*

Information from Komran apprised the commander-in-chief that, in the event of Yanuk being taken, Komran would yield without resistance. This

turned out, however, to be a false report; for when Yanuk did fall, they manifested no disposition to do as they had said.

The weather was awfully cold, and the Serdár determined that if he should be obliged to lay siege to it, it should not be said that it was taken at an easy rate. He did lay siege to it; but his troops, from what they had endured at the taking of Yanuk, were a good deal dispirited. The enemy made several sorties, went as far as the Moslem trenches, and slew a considerable number of the most heroic soldiers of the Serdár, who now began to be convinced of the difficulty of his undertaking, and resolved, as the day of Kásim was near at hand, to relinquish his object for the present. Accordingly on the 7th of Sefer, after having transported his provisions and heavy baggage to some of the nearest fortresses belonging to the Osmánlis, he raised the siege and returned to Buda.

It is related in the histories of Hasan Beg Zádeh, Alí, and Abdulkádir, secretary to the ordnance, that the governor of Komran cried out from the battlement, "Send us Hasan Páshá, Beglerbeg of Romeili, and we shall deliver up the fortress." The son of the grand vezír, however, paid no regard to him, and merely remarked, "Let him fire his cannons if he will;" but the Janissaries on his saying this immediately relinquished their trenches and retired. Katíb Chelebí\* in his Fezlikeh denies this story altogether, and declares it to be a foul calumny invented by men who had been neither members of the diván of that day, nor present where the event is said to have taken place.

On the 5th of Sefer, two days before the siege was raised, permission was granted to Gházi Gherái Khán to return home with his Tátár army, first giving him the robe of honour which in the spring of that year had been sent to him, and showing him the honours due to his rank. He left, however, one of his mirzás with a thousand Tátárs in winter quarters in the vicinity of Alba Julia, or Weissenburg in Siebenbürgen.

The grand vezír himself made his way to Buda, and after the lapse of a week he appointed his son, Mohammed Páshá, to remain in Buda with the

\* Author of the Maritime Wars of the Turks, and other celebrated works in Turkish.

Janissaries and the army of Romeili. Lála Mohammed Páshá was sent with the army of Anatolia into winter quarters in Weissenburg. The Beglerbeg of Bosnia was sent with his troops to Usk. The troops of Sívás, of Diarbeker, of Werka, of Haleb, and of Shám, were allowed to return to their respective homes. The artillery and other stores were all deposited in Buda, and after distribution of provision, &c. had been made to the troops, the grand vezír returned to Belgrade.

Before leaving Buda, however, he sent off Rezván Aghá to carry tidings to Constantinople of the fall of Yanuk, which he reached after fourteen days' travelling. The news of the fall of Yanuk was the cause of great rejoicings in the metropolis, which were demonstrated by the roar of cannon and the firing of musketry. To the Serdár and to the Khán a robe of honour, a sword, and richly ornamented plumes, accompanied by royal letters, were sent to each of these personages; also robes of honour for each of the Beglerbegs and other dignitaries were sent off at the same time.

*Concerning the bad management of the Commander-in-chief; his error and failure in some other matters.*

There is no evidence from the records of the intendant of the finances what was the actual number of the troops employed in the war in Hungary; he merely states that thirty thousand household troops were sent thither. The army of Romeili was immense. After the death of Soleimán Khán, and before the war commenced in Hungary, the people thirsted for spoil. An army equal to that of Romeili, but destitute of the means of subsistence, was collected in that quarter. A swift, active body of troops, competent for every sort of depredation, and equal to a whole province in number, assembled. The Tátárs alone amounted to more than forty thousand. Such was the vast army the commander-in-chief had under his command: such also was their fitness for contending with the enemy, if properly and wisely directed.

When, however, the pensioned Janissaries entered their trenches, the rest needlessly wasted their time in idleness: when the Khán and other chiefs proposed to commit depredations in the enemy's territories, they were checked by being asked what advantage would accrue by treading down



one province? and yet it is a certain fact, that no power whatever could have stopped the army, especially after the victory gained at Yanuk, from reaching Vienna, had they been properly commanded. When a deputation came from the country about Buda, begging protection against rapine and plunder, they were told, that unless one province fell another could not rise. To this very evident defect and mismanagement in the government of the commander-in-chief is to be attributed chiefly every misfortune which happened to the Moslems. The peasants were made slaves, and villages were ruined. Some of the most powerful of these peasants were roused to seek revenge: five or six hundred of them seized on a palanka, and refused giving it up so long as one of them remained alive. When their villages and hamlets were robbed and plundered, they set fire to them and left them. The mills near Belgrade were taxed. No apology was offered to the Waivodas of Moldavia and Valachia for the heavy injuries done to them, but they were still more oppressed; and when they sent their usual presents they were rejected with disdain, and the bearers of them threatened with death; and this wicked and unreasonable conduct awakened the spirit of rebellion and revolt which afterwards manifested itself in these two provinces, as we shall see.

*The Waivoda of Moldavia rebels.*

At the time the war broke out in Hungary the Emperor of Austria sent letters to all the Christian chiefs, and even to the Pope, to come and aid him in attacking the followers of Mohammed. The Transylvanians, Valachians, and Moldavians entered with one consent into this confederacy, and commenced hostilities by making inroads on the Mohammedan population dwelling on the banks of the Danube. At this time the Waivoda of Moldavia was one who had been raised to that dignity by Sinán Páshá, but who, when Ferhád was deposed, was also deposed. His office was conferred on a young Moldavian prince who had been educated at Sinán's expense, and who it was supposed had embraced Mohammedanism. When this young man went to take possession of his new government he was accompanied, according to custom, by a kapújí báshí, whilst a messenger was sent forward to announce his approach. Notwithstanding all this,



however, his predecessor inspired him with such terror, that he found himself necessitated to apply for aid to the grand vezír, his patron. This aid was accordingly granted. One Mustafa Páshá, who had been governor of Meroesh, in Asia, was appointed to conduct a body of troops to his assistance: and some military ághás, of whom the grand vezír wished to get rid, were appointed to join this expedition, with two thousand Janissaries also. When this expedition reached the Danube they found it completely frozen, and therefore halted at Rusjuk in order to transport their field-pieces and heavy baggage to Yerkok on the opposite side. Whilst thus employed, and suspecting no danger, they were suddenly fallen upon by an army of infidels, headed by the deposed Waivoda, who slew their leader, a great number of his men, and carried off a number of others prisoners. From this time the rebellion in Moldavia increased day after day.

*Concerning the insurrection occasioned by Michael, Waivoda of Valachia.*

As the country of Valachia abounded with sheep, cattle, honey, and salt, the merchants and rich men of Constantinople were in the habit of advancing sums of money to every new waivoda on the condition of collecting from the peasantry articles of the above description in return. This practice occasioned frequently great contention. It happened sometimes, when the waivodas did not fulfil their engagements, that those who had advanced them money in the way above described, went and abused and harassed the begs, and created much disturbance. Michael, mentioned at the head of this article, was one of these waivodas who failed to fulfil his promises, and who was therefore one day visited by more than four thousand of this sort of creditors, chiefly Janissaries and principal servants of great men, who profited by this rapacity. They assaulted the waivoda in his own palace, seized upon every thing which fell into their hands, and beat and abused as many of his domestics as chanced to come in their way. This circumstance of violence and mode of assault completely wrought on the mind of the hateful infidel, and led him to the following method of settling with his creditors. He called them together, and by way of giving them his advice, at the same time appearing very polite, said: "If you kill me, you will of course lose all the property that is due to you: that is evident. Come,

then, follow my advice, and go along with persons duly appointed into the province, collect what property you can, and pay yourselves out of it." Manifesting for some time, however, some degree of hesitation and unwillingness, they at last agreed; but it turned out that the quantity they had collected was not sufficient to liquidate the whole of his debt, and they therefore pressed him to furnish the remainder. "Let the cazi of Yerkok," said they, "be called, and let him examine the accounts. If he is unwell, his deputy, Alí Ján Effendí, may come in his stead;" for it was customary when any law-suit happened between any of the Mussulmans living in Valachia, that an appeal was made to the cazi of the above place. The cazi, or rather his deputy, Alí Ján, arrived and decided in favour of the appellants, whose receipts amounted to sixty thousand dollars. The contention was long, and a thousand obstacles presented themselves in settling this affair; but at last the sum of the debt was reduced to six thousand ákchas.

The above Alí Ján relates the following story about himself: "On retiring from the tribunal, and when I was outside of the city," he says, "I was met by an old acquaintance, an infidel, who accosted me thus: 'Alí Ján, you have been my friend for twenty years: do not let the evening overtake you, nor remain at Yerkok; but hasten as fast as you are able to Rusjuk, for all hope of accommodation is at an end,' and immediately went away." The deputy, perceiving some strange commotion and troops hastening towards the city, mounted his waggon, and made the best of his way to Yerkok; but had scarcely time to give the cazi an account of the affair in which he had been employed, before these raggamuffian soldiery murdered every one of the Waivoda's creditors and every Mussulman in the place, and thence marched to Yerkok, which they also attacked. "Seeing no alternative left me but either to fall into the hands of these infidels, or make my escape," says Alí Ján in continuation of his story, "and being a good swimmer, I immediately swam across the Danube. Another person swam across at the same time, and we were the only persons of the inhabitants of Yerkok, amounting to four thousand men, women, and children, that escaped being either murdered or made prisoners. The city they afterwards burned to the ground.

These events, now recorded, took place in Jemadi I. of 1002. Those

Musselmans that lived in Moldavia removed to Kili, to Ak-kermán, or to Korsú, as they found most convenient. Some of the people of Rusjuk who were present, and saw when these movements took place, sent an account of the whole state of matters to the court of Constantinople, but the Rusjukians themselves afterwards removed and dispersed themselves among the Balkan mountains.

It being the winter season when these accounts reached the metropolis, the operations of war were deferred till the spring of the year.

*Death of Sultán Murád III.*

In Jemadi I. of 1003 of the Hijrah, the constitution of the deceased emperor, now removed from this vain world to the distant light of God, became so shattered and altered, as to receive no benefit whatever from the skill and penetration of the medical faculty.

At the commencement of his disease, the grand vezír, Sinán Páshá went in to see him into the palace at the very time when the singers or chanters, and the females of the palace, were all collected in the royal apartment; and though it was an exceedingly rare thing to read or chant verses on such an occasion, yet, contrary to usual custom, the Emperor ordered the following distich to be chanted :

I am afflicted, O Fate!

This night me watch, and me sustain.—\*

At the time the Emperor departed this life, two vessels from Egypt arrived before the royal fortress, and, according to ancient custom, commenced firing their guns in token of rejoicing. But such was the tremendous effect once and again which the concussion of the air, put in motion by the explosions, had upon the mirrors in the apartment next to the royal saloon, that they fell down from their places and were shattered to pieces. When these mariners, however, were made aware of what had taken place, and perceived the emblems of grief and affliction, their joy was turned into sorrow, and tears began to trickle down on their beards.

\* بیمارم ای اجل بویکجه بکله یانم آل

On the night of the 5th of Jemadi II., the remains of the Emperor were carried from the bed of state to the table or board on which the dead bodies are washed, and were afterwards consigned to a coffin and put into a vault.

For nearly two weeks the vezírs and military judges could come to no agreement among themselves how to act, with respect to settling the government. At length, the Aghá of the royal house, without informing any of the vezírs what he meant to do, and under the pretext of needing some water, called the Bostánjí Báshí, Ferhád Aghá; informed him of the secrets that were going on, and sent him with letters to the heir-apparent, at that time in Magnesia, calling upon him to return and ascend the throne of his ancestors. Two days after the above messenger was sent off, one of the vezírs, Ibrahim Páshá, learning the steps which the Aghá of the royal house had taken, immediately sent off a letter to the prince by Súfi Osmán Aghá, who followed the previous messenger close at his heels. Ferhád also, the governor or Káimakám of Constantinople, on learning these manœuvres, wrote officially to the young prince about his father's death, and also letters of congratulation: seeking by these means to screen himself from all suspicion, and, at the same time, to ingratiate himself into the prince's favour. He also made several promotions; and the day after sending off the above letter, he caused several criminals to be taken out of prison and executed before the multitude, with the view of awing them, and left their bodies exposed. His officers of police went about the city and kept every thing quiet and in good order.

The young prince, Sultán Mohammed Khán, no sooner received intelligence of his father's demise than he set sail from Medeyna on the 16th of Jemadi II., and landed near Sinán Páshá's summer palace. Thence he immediately went into the royal harem, where he had an interview with his mother, and made arrangements for entering into mourning. His inauguration was completed before Friday, the day of assembly (*i. e.* the Mohammedan sabbath), when it was necessary for him to attend the mosque.

After all these things were once over, the remains of the late emperor were carried into the area of the palace, when Khoja Sa'd-ud-dín Effendí said, "We are now assembled to perform the last duty to our late Emperor,"



and then requested permission to perform the funeral rites. Ferhád Páshá obtained this permission for him from the new emperor. But before he and the reverend prelate had time to come out from the royal presence, the Mufti, Bostán Zádeh, in virtue of his office, proudly arrogated to himself this honour, and without further ceremony commenced performing the obsequies in question. When Sa'd ud dín Effendí saw this he was greatly displeased, and said, "The relation of the dead, the chief mourner, granted me the permission of performing what you, the Mufti, have taken upon yourself to do. It is right and proper to perform the service over again." The Mufti, in reply, observed, "that it was the permission of the Lord of the whole universe he possessed, and therefore that what the other demanded was not only unnecessary, but prohibited him from attempting it." This circumstance was afterwards the cause of much ill-will and strife between these two reverend divines.

After this unpleasant discussion between the two prelates respecting the right of performing the funeral obsequies over the remains of the deceased emperor was finally ended, his Majesty, the Asylum of the World, returned to the royal harem, leaving his vezírs and other grandees to accompany the bier of his father to the vicinity of St. Sophia, where they interred it in a tomb previously prepared.

In a tumult which had taken place on this occasion, nineteen brothers of the emperor, all innocent and guiltless, were strangled and added to the company of martyrs. Early next morning the reverend Mufti performed the customary prayers over these martyred bodies, which were afterwards interred in a grave at the foot of their father's tomb.

*The late Emperor's age.—The time of his reign.—Some of his virtues and good deeds described.*

Sultán Murád Khán was fifty years old when he died, and reigned a little more than twenty years. He was the father of one hundred and two sons. Four of those princes who suffered martyrdom, namely, Sultán Mustafa, Sultán Báyzíd, Sultán Osmán, and Sultán Abdullah were the most distinguished, and were all of them instructed in the doctrines of Nawa Effendí. The others, too, were all graceful and virtuous. Sultán



Mustafa was a man of an extensive genius, and a great orator. The glorious parent of these princes when despairing of life repeated the following lines:

“What the Almighty Notary has written on my forehead, I know not;  
“Alas! I have never smiled in the rose-bower of this world.”\*

The lamented emperor was a man of very extraordinary attainments. Owing to his wisdom and prudence, all parts of the empire felt, during his whole reign, the benefit of his solicitude and care, of his military skill and heroic bravery, both in governing the empire and in vexing and punishing the enemies of religion and of the state. In consequence of no impediment having been thrown in the way of the learned men and poets of that day, they have favoured the world with a sober account of his life, which is contained and set forth in a book of contemplation called the *Fatúhát Síám* (فتوحات صیام), in which is introduced Arabic, Persian, and Turkish poetry.

During the time the royal prince remained in Magnesia, the late emperor caused a noble mosque of two minarets, a school, and other religious establishments to be erected there, besides an inn and conservatory. He caused also the roof of the temple of Mecca to be supported by pillars, a canal to be made, and an edifice, where religious rites might be performed, to be erected. He transmitted many thousands of ducats to that city of religious fame. At Bektash, over the grave of Yahíah Effendí, he caused a splendid arch to be raised to his memory.

*Vezírs cotemporary with Sultán Murád Khán.*

Mohammed Páshá, who had continued in possession of the premiership ever since the days of Soleimán, was murdered in a scuffle with a furious mad fellow in the diván. He was succeeded in office by Ahmed Páshá, who died about four months after entering upon his duties in the grand vezírship. Lála Mustafa Páshá, the conqueror of Cyprus and Shirván, died when he was governor of the Sublime Porte. Khoja Sinán Páshá, the conqueror of Yanuk, was his successor, and he was succeeded by Zál Mahmúd Páshá,

\* ناصیمة کاتب قدرة نه یازدی بلمدم  
آه کیم بوکلشن عالمده هرگز کولدم

who was proprietor of the temple called Zál Páshá in the neighbourhood of Ayúb-Ensári. He died in office. Vezír Hasan Páshá was also carried off by death. Siávush Páshá was Káimakám once, and three times grand vezír, but died without any office. Osmán Páshá, son of Timúr Pásha, one of the ancient heroes, was during his premiership commander-in-chief in the Persian war. He reduced Tabríz, and afterwards fell sick and died. Mesih Páshá succeeded Osmán, but died out of office. Ferhád Páshá was twice commander-in-chief in the east, and for having afterwards effected an advantageous peace, was created grand vezír. He was Káimakám, or governor of Constantinople, when Sultán Murád Khán died, as we have already seen. Ibrahím Páshá was son-in-law to the emperor. Vezír Jeráh Páshá is well known. Jaghala, son of Sinán Páshá, was both vezír and admiral at the same time. Boyálí Mohammed Páshá, son of Pír Ahmed : he died after he was deposed from the beglerbegship of Haleb. He was successively Remembrancer, Reis Effendí, Chancellor and Váli of Haleb, and twice in the privy council. He was a man of very extensive information and experience. He built a handsome mosque, a school-house, and another edifice dedicated to a religious purpose, in Constantinople, where he died in the month of Ramazan, in the year 1001 of the Hijrah. Khalíl Páshá was son-in-law to the emperor. Hazar Páshá was Váli of Egypt. Ja'fer Páshá was son-in-law to Mohammed Páshá. He was an excellent vezír : he died lamented in 995. Hasan Páshá, the eunuch, was a potent and brave man : he was a native of Shirván, but was raised to the office of grand vezír. Vezír Ali Páshá married the widow of Mohammed Páshá, and died in office. Mohammed Páshá was murdered whilst governor of Romeili. Vezír Yúsuf Páshá was by birth an European, but of noble descent. He died a martyr in the arms of his domestics in his own palace near Kirk Cheshmeh. Vezír Shemshí Páshá was a Persian : he died in 989. Vezír Hasan Páshá was joint governor in the government of Romeili with Mohammed Páshá, who was the son of Sinán Páshá, grand vezír at the death of Murád Khán. Between Hasan Páshá and Mohammed Páshá, who were both in active service under Sinán Páshá, in the late war in Hungary, existed no small degree of envy.

*Learned Men contemporary with Sultán Murád Khán.*

Hamid Effendí was mufti when Murád ascended the throne, and died three years afterwards. Khoja Saadín Effendí was tutor to the emperor when he resided in his Sanjak. After his elevation to the throne, Saadín Effendí became his counsellor in what concerned the well-being of the state and in the art of government. Cazi Zádéh Effendí was a mufti who wrote a comment on the law, and was a guide to salvation. Malúl Zádéh Effendí was military judge in Romeili and succeeded Cazi Zádéh as mufti. In consequence of having failed to show some acts of politeness to the emperor's adviser and spiritual counsellor, Khoja Hasan Ján Zádéh Saadín, and for some mistakes which he had committed, he was represented to the emperor, and deposed. He died in 992. Tchoí Zádéh Effendí was an interpreter of the law, and his decrees were esteemed more excellent than any of those of his cotemporaries. He succeeded Malúl Zádéh as the mufti. He was a remover of oppression and injustice. He died in 995. His son, Shúkhjí Effendí succeeded him in the high priesthood, but was afterwards deposed. Bostán Zádéh Effendí is well known. Zekeriáh Effendí is the most honourable of all the interpreters of the law. On going into the imperial palace one day to receive a robe of honour from his majesty Sultán Murád Khán, he was seized with fainting fits, in one of which he died, 1001. Abdurahmán was contemporary with Sultán Soleimán and Sultán Selím, and was one of the military judges of those times in which they lived. He died in Rabia II. 983. Násir Zádéh Effendí died suddenly in 984, whilst Cazi of Constantinople. Ahkí Zádéh Effendí retired from his jurisdiction in Anatolia with a salary of 150 akchas. He died in 989. Bokhári Zádéh Effendí was deposed from his jurisdiction in Tripoli, in Syria, and died in 986. Mehshi Sinán Effendí retired with a salary of 200 akchas from his office, as military judge, in Anatolia, and died in 982. Neshánjí Zádéh Effendí was deposed from his jurisdiction in Medina. Hemshíreh Zádéh Effendí died when he was lecturer in Sultan Selím's academy, i. e. in 989. Sinán Zádéh Effendí died in 987. Kamí Ahmed Effendí died in the same year. Mualim Zádéh Mahmúd Effendí was raised from the academy of Soehen to the office of recorder or chancellor.



He was afterwards deposed, and died in 987. Bába Effendí was tutor to Rustem Páshá. He was a pious and religious man. Sári Kirís Zádeh Effendí died when he was Cazi of Haleb, in 987. Abdul Vafá Effendí was the son of Abú Saoúd. Ezumí Effendí was tutor to one of the royal princes. He died in 999. Hazár Beg Chelebí died in the academy attached to the convent of Brusa. Khosrú Zádeh Mustafa Effendí was a man of various attainments, and an orthodox guide in religion. In 998 he was Cazi of Tripoli in Syria, where he caught a severe cold. He died at Aksheher, on his way to Turkey, in 1000. He was a well-informed, gentle, and humane man. He made a collection of all the vulgar errors, and translated the History of Kutb Mekí, and left several fine poems in Turkish. Vankúli Mohammed Effendí was a man of the most consummate skill and learning. From the academy of Söhen he was raised to be Cazi of Magnesia. He held the same office, successively, in Thessalonía, in Kutahiah, and in Anatolia, and was afterwards raised to the chief Caziship in Medina. He retired from office with a salary of eighty akchés, and died in the latter city, in 1000. To his extensive information he added that of undaunted firmness, and was a perfect linguist. He wrote several pious epistles and translated the *Seháh Júherí*, which was deposited in the mosque of Sultán Mohammed Khán. He also translated the *Kimidi Sa'ádet*. Abdul Káder Effendí, son of Emir Gísúdári, and known by the name of Yálánjak Effendí, was judge of Kutahiah, and afterwards held the same office in Tripoli. It was not with his will that he was restrained from denouncing the great men of his day; for which, in fact, he was at last banished the city. He was a man of great violence and excessive virulence. It is said in the *Zelí Shukáih*, that his composition is weak, and his sentiments incorrect. He was some time Cazi of Yeni Sheher, but was degraded, and died in 1000. Mevlana Mohammed Aydín of Akhisar was some time Cazi in Egypt, and was afterwards chief-priest in Medina. He was a clever, excellent, and acute man. His poems were extant in the year 1003. There is also a translated compendium of his writings. He died in the year 1000, in Medina. Ismail Effendí was a complete separatist, and subsisted by teaching. He resembled a dervish: but having been a well-informed man, he



wrote a commentary or paraphrase on the *Mesnevi*, the *Diván of Háfiz*, the *Gulistán*, and the *Bostán*, in Turkish. He died in 1000. Sevdí Effendí was a native of Bosnia. He was a person of great learning. After having travelled the whole path of literature, he was content to live on a small salary for teaching the domestics in the palace of Ibrahim Páshá. He died in the last-mentioned year. His explanations of the *Mesnevi*, and of the *Diván of Háfiz*, and his translations and explanations of the *Káfi*, the *Sháfí*, and the *Gulistán*, are still extant. Abd-ur-rahím Chelebí Kanáli Zádeh, was the younger brother of Alí Effendí. He too was a man of parts. He died in 1000. Mulla Abdul Kerím, a native of Magnesia, was Imám to the Sultán. He was studying in the academy of Magnesia when Sultán Murad Khán, son of Sultán Selím Khán, went to that quarter. The Imám of Magnesia having been removed by death at the time of the sultán's visit, this man was appointed to succeed him in the office of Imám. After Murád ascended the throne of the Ottomans, he was created military judge. His learning and virtues, as well as his condescension to the poor and to strangers, are much celebrated. The following is one instance of his ingenuity and freedom. The Jews, both priests and laity, in contradistinction to all other people, would not wear orange-coloured turbans, and therefore could not be distinguished in the twilight of the morning and evening from others. On this account Mulla Abdul Kerím caused them to be obliged to wear scarlet bonnets. He was the means also of causing them to remove their dead in their burying-ground, near the Musselman streets in Kásim Páshá, to some other place; and, in one night, caused a mosque to be erected on the spot.

He was in the habit of making poor wretched apes to perform astonishing feats, alleging they were only made to be instruments of sport; and was thus the cause of many a poor innocent creature's death. He died in 1002.

*Reverend Doctors contemporary with Murád Khán.*

Sheikh Yolluk Mohammed Chelebí was preacher in the mosque of Sultán Mohammed, and taught theology. Sheikh Mohammed Effendí was an illustrious preacher in St. Sophia, and, in fact, a brave fearless man. He was the cause

of serious difficulties to Sheikh Emir Effendí, who was preacher in the Soleí-maniya. Sheikh Khezer Effendí was the son of a chief of a cohort of Janissaries, and a pious chaste preacher and a good speaker. Sheikh Tátár Ibrahim Effendí was a practical man and a historian: he explained and taught extempore in the mosque of Sultán Mohammed. Sheikh Shaban Effendí was a painter. He perfected himself in Emir Bokhári's convent, and chose the life of a Dervish. His imperial majesty was in the habit of paying him visits. Sheikh Kurd Effendí was a very able expositor. Sheikh Hasan Effendí officiated in the mosque of Khoja Mustafa Páshá. Sheikh Mohammed Effendí, after the death of Bába Effendí, by the recommendation of Siná Allah, military judge of Romeili, was appointed to the mosque of Sultán Mohammed, by Ferhád Páshá. He captivated, by his lofty eloquence, the heart and the affections of the great, and secured the respect of the emperor's tutor and his family. These things caused his patron, Siná Allah, to regret his having recommended him. Jaghala Zádeh and other vezírs were assiduous in attending the assemblies on Thursdays and Fridays to hear his orations. In short, so great was his fame, that even the emperor and the great men of the state were included in the number of his hearers, which increased every day. The wife of Rustem Páshá built for him a mosque and a small meeting-house, when of course he ceased preaching any more in Sultán Mohammed's mosque. Sheikh Abú-vafá was employed by the Khalifs in many cities for the purpose of extending religion. He was in great favour with the late lamented emperor Murád-khán when he was in Magnesia. In consequence of his great fame he was called from that city, after Murád's inauguration, to Constantinople, put in possession of a splendid mansion, and allowed a suitable salary. He was generally known by the appellation *Padisháh Sheikhí* (the emperor's spiritual guide). He had a great deal in his power, being keeper, as it were, of the emperor's conscience; and it was, therefore, an easy thing to secure offices of trust and importance for those who found access to him. In a certain sense he was a sort of asylum to the members of the diván. Doubtless those who had posts, and who were deprived of them, found it their interest to wait upon his eminence, and show him the respect due to him. He died in 998.

*Facts relative to the new Emperor Sultán Mohammed Khán III.*

On the third day after Sultán Mohammed Khán succeeded to the throne of his ancestors, *i.e.* on the third day after his return to Constantinople and after his father's interment, the whole of the nobles and dignitaries of state laid aside their mourning, waited on his majesty to congratulate him on his elevation, and to receive tokens of his favour, which were liberally distributed on this occasion. To the Janissary body alone six hundred and sixty thousand pieces of gold were given. The Bostánjí Bashí, Ferhád Aghá, who brought the intelligence to Magnesia, where the young prince then was, of the late emperor's demise, received in money and presents to the amount of twenty thousand ducats, and was, agreeably to his own request, confirmed in his office. Lála Mohammed Páshá, who accompanied Mohammed Khán from Magnesia, and who was the husband of the new monarch's nurse, was rewarded with a vezírship. The soldiers who came along with him were registered, and a suitable provision made for them. Some of their ághás were made masters of the royal stables: others of them were made Kapújí Báshís; and others again were made colonels of regiments. As the office of chief judge happened to be vacant at the time we are speaking of, by reason of death, the emperor's tutor, Sa'd ud-dín Effendí, was appointed to fill it.

On the 27th of the month (Jemadi I.) an official was sent by night to the Seven Towers, who dispatched Ibrahim Páshá, who had been degraded and sent thither from Diarbeker, in the former reign, for having been guilty of tyranny and oppression. The ághás, khojas, and others who had rashly meddled with the affairs of government, were also brought forth. Most of them were sent to Egypt, and a certain allowance was given to each of them by way of salary: the rest were set at liberty.

In Jemadi II. a royal order was issued permitting the pages to leave the royal harem (probably those pages who belonged to the late emperor), and to return to their own friends.

*The Premiership conferred on Ferhád Páshá.*

The grand vezír, Sinán Páshá, having become obnoxious to the emperor,



in consequence of his hostility to Ferhád Páshá, who was, at that very time, governor of Constantinople, and who had free access to the royal ear, was deposed. On the 6th of Jemadi II. the premiership was graciously conferred on Ferhád, and an officer was dispatched to Sinán Páshá to take back the seals of office from him. This officer met Sinán Páshá returning from Belgrade, and received from him the object of his mission; whilst Sinán Páshá was ordered to retire to Mulghera. His deputy at Belgrade, vezír Satúrjî Mohammed Páshá, and the treasurer, Hájî Ibrahim Páshá, sealed the whole of their papers and deposited them in the fortress of Belgrade.

*Insurrection of the Valachians and Moldavians.*

The Waiwoda of Moldavia having marched against Bender, attacked the emir of that place, and afterwards laid seige to Ak-kirman. But before the Waiwoda had succeeded in reducing it, he was repulsed by Adel Gherái, sent thither with a body of Tátárs by Gházî Khán. The firmness of the besiegers, on the approach of this horde, was turned into feebleness. Some of them were killed, some fled, some were made prisoners, and the whole body was dispersed.

The accursed Waiwoda of Valachia, Michael, formerly mentioned, sent a body of troops to Ibrail, to distress and reduce that place. The inhabitants in the villages and suburbs, on the approach of these barbarians, fled into the fortress, leaving their dwellings to the rapacity of their invaders, who first subjected them to spoliation, and afterwards set fire to them. Having accomplished this, they erected fortifications against the fortress; but a body of about four thousand Tátárs crossed over the Danube on the ice, destroyed wholly these fortifications, and slew about one thousand of the Valachian army, or rather insurgents. These wandering insurgents, amounting to about twenty thousand naked wretches, collected chiefly out of Hungary, Transylvania, and Valachia, returned again to lay siege to Ibrail, and were accompanied by a number of field-pieces. The inhabitants, anxious to oppose them, went forth to give them battle, but being overpowered by numbers they returned to the fortress and annoyed them from thence. In consequence of the ice on the Danube having all melted before this second visit to Ibrail, and it being impossible to obtain aid from the Tátárs in



sufficient time to stop the progress of these infidels, they commenced, without further resistance, to batter the fortress and to explode mines, which so alarmed the besieged, seeing their condition was desperate, as to lead them to propose a capitulation. Accordingly, Karah Shawesh Mohammed Beg and Mustafa Shawesh stepped out and met the Hungarian chiefs, who, according to their religion, swore solemnly that they should all be allowed to evacuate Ibrail, and retire across the Danube without molestation or sustaining any injury.

When these followers of Mohammed were on the eve of crossing the Danube, according to the terms of capitulation, they found themselves necessitated to leave behind them the greater part of their property—about one thousand loads, which caused a great out-cry. They determined, therefore, to take all, and made an effort to remove what was left; but the perfidious enemy opposed them. They surrounded the complainants, seized some of the most distinguished Moslems amongst them, and made them prisoners: others of them they entirely robbed, and others they murdered on the spot.

When this violence and perfidy was remonstrated against by Karah Shawesh Beg, the Hungarian chiefs answered by displaying their naked swords, murdering a number more in cold blood, and driving the remainder across the Danube.

The accursed Michael, already too often mentioned, having killed Mustafa Páshá, the Beglerbeg of Marash, went every where exciting insubordination and insurrection, and plundering and murdering where he could. With four thousand of his raggamuffin army he penetrated into Silistria, but was so firmly and effectually opposed by Mustafa Beg, the governor, that only about one hundred of the four thousand vagrants escaped the edge of the sword. Thus ample vengeance was taken on them.

*Ferhád Páshá makes preparations for war.*

After the above-mentioned Yerkok was destroyed, letters reached the Sublime Porte which imported that Michael was marching at the head of one hundred thousand men, collected from the neighbouring princes, and committing devastation and plunder in the villages on the banks of the

Danube and on the shores of the Black Sea; thus exercising violence and cruelty on the servants of God. When this disastrous account reached the royal ear, the grand vezír, Ferhád Páshá, who was also commander-in-chief, was ordered to make preparations for war against the insurgents by the time the spring season arrived. Letters were sent to those chiefs on the borders who had maintained their integrity to join the troops of war at a certain place; orders were issued to prepare bridges and other apparatus necessary for crossing the Danube at Rusjuk, opposite Yerkok; and an earnest request was sent to the chiefs of Silistria, Nicopolis, and Widin, to furnish a sufficient number of artificers for accomplishing this design. Until the arrival of the grand vezír the office of commander-in-chief was conferred on Lála Mohammed Páshá, Beglerbeg of Anatolia, who went to Widin. Mohammed Páshá, Beglerbeg of Romeili, son of Sinán Páshá, lately in the premiership, gave up his office of commandant in Buda to vezír Hasan Páshá, who had been at Widin and returned to Belgrade.

*The Spáhís raise a tumult.*

On the 12th of Shabán, as Ferhád was leaving the diván, and intending to return to his own palace, he was met by ten thousand of the troops, who were waiting for him at the gate of the diván. These complained of not having been duly paid for three years' services performed in garrisoning the fortress of Ganjé, and demanded payment. The grand vezír told them in return that their wages would be paid them from the treasury of Tabríz and Ganjé. "Why," said he, "do you break the law by raising a tumult? Do you not know that disobedience to the supreme authority involves in it the guilt of infidelity?" Thus saying, he dismissed them. They, however, began to speak publicly of their grievances, and sounded abroad that they were oppressed, and in fact effected a tumult in the city. Next day Ferhád's embarrassments were increased, for the whole of the Spáhís, and some of the Salihdárs, sycophants of Sinán Páshá, who united with them, came in a tumultuous manner to the door of the diván, declared that until Ferhád Páshá's head was cut off they would accept no wages, and stoned such of their companions as ventured to ask them. The ághás endeavoured by kind advice to soothe them, but without any beneficial effect. The chávush báshí

and the deputy of the household troops tried what they could do in appeasing them, but were rewarded with a shower of stones, and of course were obliged to seek shelter. The tumult increased in noise and numbers. The insurgents were then told that the pay of the men of Ganjé would be forthwith advanced, and that all their wishes, whatever they might be, would be complied with. These promises also made no impression. The insurgents continued obstinate and determined, and threatened they would permit no member of the diván to stir out of the council alive before the head of Ferhád was given to them, and became more and more turbulent and vociferous.

When the emperor was made aware of these scenes of insubordination and turbulence, he sent two military judges to exhort them to return to their duty. These two prelates were the poet Báki Effendí and Abúlsa'úd, a principal effendí; but their exhortation to the mutineers had no better result than the former. The mutineers stamped with their feet on the ground, and again vociferated "The head of Ferhád!" Ferhád was now induced to wait on his majesty and tell him how he had acted, and how he had spoken to the instigators of the riots about their want of subordination, which conduct manifested, he observed, their utter want of religion. "Lála Mohammed Páshá and other vezírs were present when I spoke to them," said the grand vezír, "and I am sure nothing of all that I said ought to have offended them. I am only one of your slaves, and though I should be removed out of the world, that will not reduce the number of your majesty's councillors. To comply with their demands will only have the effect of increasing their rebellious spirit and open a door for making similar demands in future, which will not be so easily resisted if their present one be complied with. At the present moment, when neither exhortation nor threatening can make any impression on them, it will be most advisable that your majesty authorise the ághá of the Janissaries to bring out a considerable number of his troops and station them below the arsenal, and order the most powerful of the Bostánjís to be in a state of readiness at the Tímúr gate. If, therefore, the vezírs be molested when they retire from the diván, these troops will immediately, on the first signal, advance and chastise the insurgents for their temerity." The emperor approved of this advice, and

promised to act accordingly. He desired Ferhád to remain with him, and that he would again send his vezírs to try to pacify them. "If they succeed, well; if not, then your method will be adverted to," said he to his grand vezír, and ordered them to make the endeavour. The vezírs, however, no sooner showed themselves, than the audacious multitude commenced pelting them with stones as formerly. At this moment the Janissaries and Bostánjís were let loose upon the mutinous Spáhís, and dispersed them in all directions: not any two of them remained together, so completely were they awed and terrified.

In this tumult the brother-in-law of Khalíl Páshá had his head hurt, and Lála Mohammed Páshá his arms, by stones which were hurled at them. Both of them were carried into the diván in a wounded condition by the ághá of the Janissaries, who related to the members of the council how matters stood, after which they all dismissed: Ferhád mounted his horse and rode away to his own palace.

The grand vezír, reflecting on the disgrace done to him by the friends and sycophants of his enemies, Khoja Sinán Páshá and his son Jaghala, sought redress from the emperor. His importunity was not in vain, for a royal decree ordered Sinán Páshá to repair to Mulghera, where he had been before, and Jaghala Zâdeh Sinán Páshá was ordered to Karahissar. Siá-vush Páshá, being also involved in raising the tumult we have described, was ordered to Iconium. Others who had taken a share in it were similarly punished.

After peace and quietness were restored the emperor next day ordered 100,000 dollars to be distributed among the Janissary troops, and ten of their chiefs were presented with robes of honour.

*Ferhád Páshá prepares to set out for Valachia.*

All the preparations for the war having been properly attended to, and all in a state of readiness, the grand vezír, Ferhád Páshá, on the 17th of Shabán, marched at the head of his army from the imperial city, and halted at Dávud Páshá. The second vezír, Ibrahim Páshá, was made káímakám, or vice-governor of Constantinople. The chief ághá of the Janissaries remained



at home according to custom, but the commander or ághá of the first legion of the Janissaries, with ten thousand Janissaries, accompanied the expedition to Valachia. Ten galleys were ordered up the Danube with cannon and other military stores as far as Rusjuk; but Ibrahim Pásha, the káímakám, in consequence of some secret enmity towards Ferhád, hindered as much as he could, and under various pretences, the dispatch of these and similar other articles necessary for the war, though he made it appear that he was every way active.

When Ferhád was on his way to the scene of action he wrote a very earnest letter to his majesty, requesting an augmentation of troops. "The enemy," said he in his letter, "are at Bekrish, and we have advanced near to Rusjuk, on our frontiers. The troops under my command are too few, and they are also much weakened by the fatigues of the long journey and other privations incident to long marching. The number of the enemy is too great for us at present to take vengeance, and we must, before venturing to attack them, be made better acquainted with their actual force, and be put in circumstances to secure success." These sentiments of Ferhád were more than once expressed. Ibrahim Páshá, on the contrary, represented to his majesty that the army under Ferhád was on the point of deserting him; that they were unwilling to act under him; that what at one time had appeared hopeful had vanished; in short, that the whole of the army would rather perish by the sword than choose to continue under his banner. The mufti, Bostán Zâdeh, joined in the fraud; and Báki Effendí from among the military judges, and Jeráh Mohammed Páshá, Hasan Páshá, and Jaghala Zâdeh, from among the vezírs, were carried away by this deceit and dissimulation. "It is not," said the deceitful káímakám, "that I wish an investigation to be made in the case of Ferhád that I speak as I do, neither is it that I wish to be made grand vezír; nor is it the chief command of the army I seek. No: it is a duty I owe to religion, to the emperor, and to the empire, that forces me to express myself." These sentiments, apparently good, were uttered with the view of affecting Sinán Páshá, the late prime minister, who was so well pleased with them that he was induced to distribute some thousands of gold among those who were present and heard

this discourse. Ibrahim's words soon found their way to the ear of his royal master, who was so much affected by them that he determined on deposing Ferhád Páshá.

*Continuation of Ferhád's affairs.*

On the 21st of Shabán Ferhád Páshá marched from Dávud Páshá, and on reaching Chorli he raised about a thousand sharp-shooters, and gave the command of this body to one Hasan, a Špáhí. The stages by which the army was to march were all written down, but the troops were to halt every day at mid-day and take rest.

About the 5th of Ramazán, the government of Moldavia was conferred on Ja'fer Páshá, who had been, formerly, Beglerbeg of Shirván, and that of Valachia, on Satúrjî Mohammed Páshá. The office of treasurer was conferred on Mohammed Beg of Yenî Sheher. Twelve thousand men from these two provinces were ordered to be taken into pay.

*Ferhád arrives on the Banks of the Danube.*

The grand vezír, Ferhád Páshá, reached Rusjuk towards the end of Shevál, and immediately commenced preparations for erecting a bridge across the Danube. Artificers, brought from Nicopolis, were set to the work. From some prisoners who had been brought to the commander-in-chief he learned that the wicked and mischievous Michael had received a reinforcement, from Transylvania and Hungary, of about 70,000 troops, and that he was posted at Bekrish. About the commencement of Dhu'l Kadah, the Beglerbeg of Romeili, Hasan Páshá, joined the royal camp with four thousand troops, and brought along with him five hundred Valachian and Hungarian prisoners. The grand vezír and commander-in-chief, Ferhád Páshá, sat under a canopy supported by eight pillars, and superintended the erections which were carried on. The whole might have been completed in five or six days had it not been found necessary to extend the bridge to an island in the river, opposite Yerkok. To accomplish this object, the Sanjak chiefs were ordered to cut down trees suitable for the purpose, and to transport them to the spot where they were needed. Whilst these erections were going forward, arrangements were also made

to pay four divisions of troops which remained in the garrison of Belgrade; the Serdár himself intending, after he had chastised the rebel Michael, to remove to that city.

*Ferhád is deposed.—Sinán Páshá raised to the Premiership.*

It has already been observed how Ibrahim Páshá, the son-in-law of Sinán Páshá, and other sycophants of the latter, had effected a change in the emperor's mind towards Ferhád. They at last succeeded in moving him to remove him from office altogether. Accordingly the seals of office, at the close of the month Shevâl, were sent to Sinán Páshá, who, on being raised to the premiership, set immediately to work in seeking the destruction of his predecessor. He insinuated that Ferhád maintained a secret correspondence with the apostate Michael: that he meditated the utter ruin and destruction of the Moslem army: he accused him of negligence, infidelity, and treachery, and importuned his warrant: and, in order to encompass his death, he took the royal seal and signed a commission, which he sent to the deputy of the Jannissaries, Ahmed Aghá, desiring him to execute this diabolical but earnestly desired object. He issued another order for taking possession of the arsenal and other stores which Ferhád had provided for the war. Before either of these firmans reached the place of their destination, however, a friend of Ferhád had hastened, with all manner of speed, to inform him what was going on against him. The information had such an effect on the unfortunate Páshá, that his life, for a while, was despaired of. He was, however, able to make arrangements for his return. He informed a diván, called for the purpose, that he found it necessary to return to Constantinople, and therefore required some men to accompany him. He, accordingly, selected about three thousand veterans from the most valiant of the troops, and delivered over, secretly however, to Satúrjî Mohammed Páshá, his own seal, and all the stores to Mohammed Páshá. Having settled every thing relative to the troops that were to accompany him, he mounted his horse and set out for Constantinople. To avoid meeting the officer who had in charge the grand vezír's firman, he travelled by a different route, night and day, with the greatest speed.

When the officer reached Rusjuk, he learned, to his surprise, that Ferhád

had set out two days before ; but with the assistance of Satúrjî Mohammed Páshá, he immediately transmitted an account of this circumstance to Constantinople.

Sinán Páshá was still in the metropolis. The Syrian troops, destined for the war, had arrived. Sinán informed them that a sentence of death had been issued against Ferhád. "His head is mine, his property yours," said he, and sent off these fearless troops to intercept him.

In the mean time Sinán Páshá busied himself in making arrangements for carrying on the war in Hungary. The Syrian troops, just now mentioned, fell in with Ferhád's treasures, which were carried on camels. These they seized, whilst Ferhád himself stood on a rising ground at a distance, and saw what was going on. There is another version of this story. It says, that when these Syrians met Ferhád, he had the presence of mind to scatter some purses of silver and gold amongst the rapacious fellows, and made off with himself whilst they were scrambling for the booty thus thrown amongst them. The story goes on to say that the Syrians began to quarrel about the division of the spoil they had so very easily acquired, and that instead of fairly dividing it, each man set off with what fell into his own hands.

Ferhád, in the meantime, succeeded in descending the mountains of Istrenj, and arrived at his own villa near Constantinople in the middle of Dhu'l hijja. Here he concealed himself, but sent all his treasures and jewels as a present to the emperor's mother. This mode of applying his money had a wonderful effect, for the joyful news of his being about to be pardoned soon became public.

The grand vezír, Sinán Páshá, reached Rusjuk, on the borders of the empire, before these things had transpired, and had other objects to occupy his attention, independent of Ferhád. But his son-in-law, Ibrahim Páshá, was still governor of Constantinople, and when he heard the report that Ferhád was to be pardoned, formed another plot for effecting his destruction, which succeeded, as the sequel will show. He employed one Soleimán, a German Jew, a well-known fellow, who succeeded in finding out where Ferhád had secreted himself, and afterwards sent him (probably by the same infamous Jew) a letter, as from the emperor, which conveyed to him



a free pardon. This, the poor man had no doubt, was an act of mercy from his sovereign, and therefore ventured out of his hiding-place and commenced paying visits to his friends. One morning, however, by break of day, his villa was surrounded, and himself made prisoner by the Bostánjî báshí, who conducted him forthwith to the Seven Towers. This took place on the 5th of Sefer, 1004. Ibrahim Páshá wrote out his indictment and laid it before the throne, and soon afterwards succeeded in obtaining the emperor's warrant for taking away his life. Accordingly, Chobán Soleimán Aghá, a chávush báshí, strangled him in the Seven Towers that same night, before supper-time.

*A Reflection.*

The late Ferhád Páshá was a man who had rendered many important services to his country whilst employed in the Persian war, and was one of those who had forwarded the elevation of the then reigning monarch; but he was rewarded, as we have seen, with disgrace heaped upon him, and, at last, with an ignominious death. The late emperor knew his value, and always showed him peculiar honour and respect. Sultán Mohammed Khán was a man who was free from guile and duplicity, and unacquainted with cunning and deceit; but he had not reached that degree of penetration which so much distinguished his father, and which would have secured him from putting too much confidence in his advisers, and have kept him from committing himself before he had made proper and strict inquiry. The result of the want of these qualities we have seen.

*Sinán Páshá's Operations in Valachia.*

The new grand vezír, Sinán Páshá, left the plains of Dávud Páshá on the 11th Dhu'l Kadah, passed through Adrianople, the pass of Chaluk Kovak, and, after encountering a thousand difficulties, reached the camp towards the end of the month. The above-mentioned bridge was in a state of completion, and about the middle of the month Dhu'l hijja, the grand vezír crossed over with his whole army. The troops of Romeili, with their Válí at their head, formed the advance guard: Satúrjî Mohammed Páshá, at the head of the Syrian troops, formed the right wing: the chiefs of Thessalonica and Nicopolis were appointed to watch the

bridge: the ten galleys which had been ordered to convey military stores had reached Rusjuk, and on the 17th the army removed from Yerkok, and halted near a wood about four leagues distant from a narrow pass which led to Bekrish. A party was led forward to reconnoitre this pass, but they had scarcely approached it when they observed a cloud of dust, and soon afterwards saw the enemy's troops advancing. The party retreated to the camp: the grand vezír girded on his sword, ordered planks to be placed over a marsh which lay in front, by which he made the Janissaries pass, and stationed them in a part of the wood. On the top of an eminence he placed ten pieces of ordnance, which did great execution, and with the middle division of his army he succeeded in driving back those of the enemy which were advancing upon him, and spiked their cannon which they had been obliged to leave behind them. A few only of the enemy were killed, but every thing was in favour of the Moslems, who now advanced upon them, and took their position near Kalúgirvan. The whole of the enemy were concentrated in the pass or valley of Bekrish, where they during the night lighted fires, made a tremendous noise and stir, and, at the same time, brought forward a great number of buffaloes.

In the history called *Bahjet*, the account is thus related:—The Moslem army having halted in a marshy and woody spot near the bridge of Kalúgirvan, were soon attacked by a body of the enemy, whose cannon and small arms were most galling to them. In these circumstances, Satúrjî Mohammed Páshá, Haider Páshá, Hasan Páshá, and Mustafa Páshá, the son of Ayás Páshá, crossed the bridge with a considerable number of troops, and attacked them in return, and after a most dreadful conflict succeeded in securing ten of the enemy's cannon, but were afterwards obliged to retreat, leaving their acquisition behind them. Mohammed Páshá, in the act of retreating, was wounded in the above-mentioned marsh. Hasan Haider and Mustafa sunk into the mud and perished. The grand vezír himself was also very unfortunate, for in this moment of confusion and retreat, he too was obliged to fly; and in doing so, fell into a morass. His body guards sought their own safety, and left him to shift for himself the best way he could. He got out, but soon fell into another; and in this predicament he continued till he was observed by a veteran Romeilian called

Hasan, who advanced towards him, took him on his back, and thus carried him out of the marsh. This hero, the deliverer of the grand vezír, acquired public fame for his heroism, and had the word "marsh" affixed to his name ever afterwards. He was, therefore, called Hasan Bátákjı, and became afterwards the commander of a body of heroes under Khoja Murád Páshá, honourably mentioned in the sequel of this history.

On the night of the above-mentioned disastrous event, one of the Janisaries happened to lay down an unextinguished match upon some gunpowder, which, when it ignited, communicated itself to a great quantity of the same material which lay in its neighbourhood, and which produced so tremendous an explosion as to cause an universal cry of "Yá allah," among the troops. The effect of this explosion on the infidel army was astonishing—for they supposed they were attacked by the Moslems, and to escape them they immediately retired. Michael hastened to Bekrish with the greater part of his army, whilst a smaller body made its way into Moldavia, but afterwards returned to join their infamous leader at Bekrish.

The Moslems unable, in consequence of the fatigues they had endured the preceding day, to take advantage of the flight of the enemy, and thus gain the open field, retreated a little. Here they remained two days, during which time some prisoners were brought in, who informed them that the enemy had concentrated at Bekrish. Encouraged by this information, Hasan Páshá, on the 18th of the month, crossed over with his division, gained the plain beyond the valley or pass, and sent out a foraging party through the country, who returned with provisions, prisoners, and cattle.

Michael, not thinking himself secure at Bekrish, retired to Terghúshta, and afterwards, from the same dread, penetrated the almost inaccessible mountains which form the boundaries of Transylvania. The grand vezír, now that the enemy had entirely disappeared, passed through the valley on the 20th and appeared before Bekrish, in the plains of which he pitched his tent. The churches of Bekrish were converted into mosques; and worship, according to Mohammedan usage, was performed in them. The ornaments and crosses which adorned the roofs of the churches, as well as the whole of the images and pictures which were placed in them, were totally demolished. Not a vestige of them was allowed to remain.

*A Council held.—A Fortress built.*

The nobles and princes having assembled in the grand vezír's pavilion, they consulted as to the most effectual method they should adopt to prevent Valachia and Moldavia from falling into the hands of the infidels; and also as to the difficulty there existed in keeping the inhabitants of these provinces under subjection. After these matters were fully discussed, it was resolved and agreed to: 1st, That an impregnable fortress should be built at Bekrish; and 2ndly, That a similar one should be erected at the pass of Terghúshta. After the passing of these resolutions, it was thought proper to transmit a report of affairs to the court of Constantinople for its approbation; and at the same time, the government of the country was conferred on Satúrjî Mohammed Páshá. When once these things were thus settled, the grand vezír and his nobles proceeded to the suburbs of Bekrish and measured off double the space of ground on which Alexandra, the Waiwoda's Monastery stood, and which was formerly a fortress, and made preparations for commencing the first fortress mentioned in the resolutions adverted to above. The whole was completed in the space of twelve days after it was fairly commenced. But what more relates to this fortress we must reserve till we relate the events of the following year.

*Concerning the Enemy's Operations on the Frontiers.*

Mohammed Páshá, son of Sinán Páshá, having been appointed commander-in-chief on the frontiers, went, at the commencement of the month Shevál, to Buda, where he properly housed a quantity of provisions which had been sent from Belgrade; and afterwards distributed troops among the military stations along the frontiers in that quarter. He himself went to Kiris Elias, where he pitched his camp. The beglerbeg of Anatolia, of Karamania, of Sivás, of Buda, of Temisvar, of Haleb, and of Scutari, the deputy-ághá of the Janissaries, the salihdárs of the Spáhís, and all the various troops regular and irregular, assembled at Old Buda, where a distribution of provisions and of other necessaries was made to them.

About this time Osmán Páshá, beglerbeg of Yanuk, sent information that the Austrians were preparing to send a large army; and it so hap-



pened that, towards the end of Dhu'l Kada, an army of 50,000 foot and 20,000 horse laid siege to Osterghún. The Moslem serdár, or commander-in-chief, and the other beglerbegs, could muster no more than 10,000, and therefore prudently forbore attempting to offer battle to so immense a host. They accordingly took up their position on a hill opposite the enemy, and there meant to wait till they received more succour.

*The Moslem Army advances to Osterghún, and are defeated.*

About the commencement of the month Dhu'l hijja, the commander-in-chief, Sinán's son, the beglerbeg of Buda; Súfi Sinán Páshá, the beglerbeg of Temisvar; Michaeljeli Ahmed Páshá, the beglerbeg of Scutari; Teriakí Hasan Páshá, the beglerbeg of Haleb; Mohammed Páshá, and the beglerbeg of Yanuk, Osmán Páshá, advanced with the 10,000 lately mentioned to Osterghún, and took up their position immediately opposite the enemy. This was a fool-hardy step, and one for which they paid dearly: for that very day the battle commenced, and was continued for several days, when it ended in the discomfiture of the Moslem army, as might have been easily anticipated, considering the vast majority of the enemy. The following day, when the Moslems advanced to the conflict, they were encircled by a considerable body of the enemy, drawn up in regular order to receive them, but whom the Moslems, led on by Osmán Páshá, drove back, retaking at the same time Jegirdilen, a place of some strength, and spiked the whole of the cannon in it. Hitherto fortune seemed to declare for the orthodox army, but on the fourth day it experienced a reverse. In approaching Dipadilen, another place of strength, the Moslems were much annoyed by the small arms of the enemy, which played incessantly upon them. Here many of the brave Musselmans fell lifeless on the ground, and among them was Osmán Páshá. Another division of the Moslem army attacked the enemy's trenches on the Danube, and got possession of them. Here they either slew or drowned in the river such of the enemy as fell into their hands: but alas! this act of heroism was dearly paid for; for on retiring from these trenches they were met by a strong augmentation of the enemy coming forward to the aid of those who had been in the trenches, when a most desperate and awful conflict ensued. The Serdár, thinking his Mos-

lems were overpowered, turned his face towards Buda and set off. Others, seeing this, followed his example. Teriákí Hasan Páshá was no sooner made aware of the state of matters than he too ordered his tents to be struck, loaded his waggons with the heaviest of his baggage, caused oxen to be put to them and to his field-pieces—which had been kept as memorials of Soleimán—and moved off for Buda, whither the rest had fled.

After this signal superiority gained by the enemy they proceeded, without any further resistance from the scattered army of the Serdár, to effect their original purpose, the reduction of Osterghún. But we must defer any further account of this till we relate the events of the following year.

The Serdár Mohammed Páshá, after reaching Buda, and after his troops had found their way to that city, was in conformity to a resolution passed by a council of war, appointed to the government of Yanuk, and proper persons were also dismissed in order to assemble forces at Belgrade.

When the enemy, stationed about Novograde, heard of the defeat sustained by the Moslems they were emboldened to lay siege to Waj, but were repulsed with great loss. Finding they were unable for the task they had undertaken, they contented themselves with carrying off what cattle they could seize or drive off. But this also belongs to the affairs of the following year.

*The Apostate Michael gains a victory.*

The grand vezír, Sinán Páshá, after having seen the fortress completed, which he had ordered to be erected of wood at Bekrish, as before observed, placed a garrison of one thousand Janissaries and a thousand other troops in it, besides cannon and other implements of war for defence, and on the 13th of Moharrem removed to the plains of Terghúshta. The inhabitants of this latter place having all fled before his arrival, he commenced building in it a fortress of wood, similar to the one erected at Bekrish, and ordered two deep ditches to be cut round it. The whole was completed in the space of a month; and after having placed a garrison in it, and supplied it with all kinds of necessary stores, he commenced his countermarch on the 12th of the month Sefer.

The grand vezír had scarcely reached the very first stage, however, before

the atrocious Michael started out of the woods and surrounded Terghúshta with his troops. The sound of his cannon was distinctly heard in the grand vezír's camp. After three days of violent effort he took the place. Ali Páshá, Khoja Beg, and other persons of distinction, he caused to be fixed on spits and roasted before a fire : the rest of the garrison he made prisoners, set fire to the place, and withdrew. Information of this disaster reached the grand vezír the day it took place, and awakened the grief and sympathy of the whole army. Whilst they stood deploring the fate of the garrison, and of their brethren who had fallen into the hands of their merciless enemies, three hundred of these infidels issued out of the wood, not very distant from the Moslem camp, but they were all dispersed by a party of the Romeilian troops. The army now began to retrace their steps. After consulting as to the propriety of returning to Terghúshta, about which there existed a variety of opinion, they at last resolved on going to Bekrish, which they accordingly did. During fifteen days which the army was ordered to remain there, all the traders, whether belonging to the army or otherwise, were requested to remove in that space of time with their effects out of Bekrish, and retire to some other place of greater security. After this and other matters of importance were fully attended to, the guns and other stores belonging to this garrison were put on waggons and removed, and itself, so lately built, set fire to about midnight, when the troops left it to perish. After hastily passing through the pass of Bekrish they arrived at Yerkok, where they halted three days.

On reaching this place, the grand vezír was confounded when he perceived that the bridge, which had been confided to a sufficient guard, across which ten thousand waggons and captives had passed, was now watched only by five. Formerly, the Moslem troops were in the habit of making excursions by this bridge into the country of Transylvania, and returning by the same with waggons loaded with spoil, thousands of captives, and with droves of cattle, sheep, and young horses, and which used to be sold in the Moslem camp. Here also a faithful custom-house officer used to sit and collect an impost which was levied on all such imports.

The grand vezír was but a very few days at the above place when he learned that the apostate Michael was at his heels. Without waiting the

arrival of this rebel he crossed over by night, and permitted his troops to do as they might be able. Before morning they succeeded in getting over part of their ordnance, whilst they were obliged to leave the remainder behind them. Whilst all were in confusion, and petrified with terror at the recent information, each one, concerned about himself, sought to save himself the best way he could. In these circumstances of confusion and terror the enemy appeared in the vicinity of Yerkok, and arrived in sufficient time to seize on all which yet remained to be passed over to the Moslem side. A party of the enemy, more like enraged swine, hastened forward to the edge of the river, and from an eminence sufficiently near, played with their cannon against the bridge, which soon gave way in the middle. Such of the retreating Moslems and baggage as were crossing at the time, fell into the river along with it, and were lost. Some of the unfortunate wretches who got hold of pieces of the bridge were carried down the stream, and their shrieks pierced the skies. All who had not been able to make their escape from Yerkok were butchered without mercy, and their blood made to flow in rivulets. In short, the slaughter was terrible. The cannon which fell into the hands of the enemy were directed, after they had burned the city, against the fortress. So very disastrous a retreat, as well as defeat, has never been recorded in any history.

*The fortress of Yerkok taken.*

The troops who were stationed in this garrison at this time shut themselves up in it, but the rabble-army, after three days' bombardment, took it by storm on the 10th of the month Sefer, put every Mussulman within it to death, and afterwards directed its cannon against the grand vezir's camp on the opposite side of the river. About this time information was received from Gházi Gherái Khán, khán of the Tátars, which apprised them that he had entered Moldavia with his Tátár army, and had brought the inhabitants of that province under subjection and promise of obedience; and further, that they had promised to deliver up the apostate Michael, the sole author of all the evils and mischief which had taken place. In the letter which they addressed to the khán, they requested that one of his emirs



might be appointed governor over them; but their chiefs not liking this arrangement, the thing was delayed.

*Osterghún delivered up to the enemy.*

In the month of Dhu'l hijja of last year the enemy, as we have seen, laid siege to the fortress of Osterghún, and after having defeated the army sent from Buda to oppose them, they redoubled their efforts against the above place, which at last the Moslems were necessitated to give up. This took place on the 1st, or about the beginning of the month Sefer. About forty or fifty Mussulmans, who were allowed to leave Osterghún, went by water to Buda.

*Vishégrade is taken by the enemy.*

After the reduction of Osterghún the enemy surrounded the fortress of Vishégrade, a place of considerable strength, not far from the above, and which, through the treachery of one Osmán, who had been degraded from the rank of an ághá of the Janissaries, was delivered over to the enemy; but the inhabitants and the garrison were allowed to retire to Buda. The above-mentioned apostate Osmán, in order to ingratiate himself with the King of Hungary, went and pointed out the vaults in which the Moslems had preserved their gunpowder, and which till then had not been discovered. The enemy carried the whole away in boats.

*The Grand Vezir deposed.—Lála Mohammed Páshá made Grand Vezir.*

When accounts of the ill fate of the expedition conducted by the grand vezir into Valachia, of the pusillanimity of his son, who permitted Osterghún to fall into the enemy's hands; and who was the first who fled from the field of battle, and shut himself up within the fortress of Buda, were received at Constantinople, the whole of the Moslem population and the grandees of the state were roused to madness and indignation; and when the emperor was formally informed of these disgraceful circumstances, he immediately ordered the grand vezir, Sinán Páshá, to be deposed and to go to Mulghura. On the 16th of Rabia II. the seals were transferred to Lála

Mohammed Páshá, but who, on account of his bad state of health, was never able, with the exception of the day he had the honour of kissing the emperor's hand, to attend to his duties in the diván. He died shortly after his elevation to the premiership.

*Sinán Páshá is made Grand Vezír a fifth Time.*

The káimakám of Constantinople, Ibrahim Páshá, of whom frequent though not honourable mention has been made, expected that on the death of Lála Mohammed Páshá, as well as on some former occasions, when a prime minister was degraded, that the emperor would confer the seals upon him. He was mistaken, and of course disappointed. The fact was, that the emperor had discovered before then that he was the principal cause of Ferhád Páshá's murder, and was seized with a kind of horror and remorse, and therefore dismissed him from office and from his presence.

The friends of Sinán, lately deposed and banished, were not idle. They threw a cloak over his faults, and represented his virtues and high qualifications for government in such a light as to induce his majesty to recall him from his exile, and to reinstate him (a fifth time) in his former office. He took his place in the diván about the end of Rabia II.

A circumstance took place about this time which is worthy of being recorded. A great dispute having taken place between Ibrahim Páshá and his father-in-law, Sinán Páshá, the former accused the latter, in the presence of the diván, of maladministration, and charged him with being the cause of all the insurrections which had happened, by his having given places of trust and responsibility to men who were unfit to hold these offices. On another occasion Ibrahim spoke in the same strain in presence of the emperor, which so enraged Sinán that he said: "I am represented to your majesty as a person every way unfit to hold office, and though it be Ibrahim who has thought fit to do so, I challenge him to go down to the court, and there let us try the edge and strength of our daggers." Thus saying, he seized him by his robes and thrust him out of the presence of the emperor. These were times in which rebellion and disorder, hatred and envy, reigned without; rudeness and asperity within;

and had the effect of marring the tranquillity of all ranks and conditions.

*Sinán Páshá's counsel to the Emperor.*

One day when the grand vezír was sitting with his imperial majesty he offered him the following counsel. "Sire," said he, "it is inconsistent with sound policy to have a commander-in-chief in hostile countries, and it is incompatible for two to hold that office. In having a commander-in-chief, or a person of this description, it falls either to the grand vezír, or some other one of the vezírs, to hold it. If the grand vezír exercise this function, then the káimakám, in order to get himself into the vezírship, will throw all the hindrances he possibly can in his way, and no good will be effected. On the other hand, if it be a vezír who shall exercise that high office, then the grand vezír, for fear his services should, perchance, recommend him to hold the premiership, will, from mere envy, seek to hide what glory he may acquire in the service of his country. For how many years have ambition and envy of this kind been the cause of the ruin of our armies, and the wasting of our treasures, without producing the least benefit to the state, but, on the contrary, misfortune and disgrace! Do you, therefore, Sire, imitate the example set before you by Sultan Suleimán, and declare that you will, in person, take the chief command of the army in the present war with the infidels on the north of our frontiers. Do this, that, after you have gained victories, and restored the fading glory of the Ottomans, you may then have it in your power to make peace on honourable terms. The presence of the royal warrior in the midst of his camp will inspire the enemies of our religion and of our country with dread, and paralyze their efforts against us." Khoja Sa'd-ud-dín Effendí, being of one mind with the grand vezír, confirmed his sentiments by an appeal to the practice of former emperors, who all commanded in person; and who, by their valour and heroism, extended the dominions of the Ottomans. The result was, that the grand sultan determined on joining his army, and on conducting it to battle in person.

Accordingly, every preparation for furthering the views of the royal warrior was promptly attended to. Khoja Sa'd-ud-dín Effendí was ap-

pointed to accompany the royal suite; and on the 1st of Rajab, 150,000 ducats were delivered out of the royal treasury to Kara Mohammed Páshá, who was commissioned to proceed to Belgrade and make the necessary purchases of provisions for the army. Artificers were also sent out to mend the roads and bridges every where. Orders were issued to have all kinds of vessels, and all sorts of apparatus in a state of readiness on the Danube. The whole of the royal tents, &c. were confided to the emperor's chancellor, Hamza Páshá. To the chief master of the horse, Tarnakjí Hasan Aghá, in conjunction with a chávush, called Konái Zádeh Mohammed, was committed the charge of collecting in Caramania and thereabouts the necessary number of beasts of burden for the war. In short, the preparations were decisive and complete.

*Sinán Páshá's death.—Ibrahim Páshá is made Grand Vezír.*

Whilst the grand vezír, Sinán Páshá, was actively employed in carrying on the preparations alluded to in the preceeding section, death put an end to his blemished life. He did not survive the murder of Ferhád Páshá a full year. His death took place on the 5th of Shabán. Ahmed Aghá, Ketkhodá of the household troops, was deputed to carry the seals to Ibrahim Páshá, who happened, at the time they were sent to him, to be praying in St. Sophia. The learned and exalted men, Sa'd-ud-dín Effendí and others, besides vezírs, who were present in the temple when the seals were put into his hand, congratulated him on his elevation. After having finished their religious duties they accompanied the remains of the deceased grand vezír, and buried him in his own tomb, when the newly created one, Ibrahim Páshá, returned to his own palace.

*Strife and contention between Sa'd-ud-dín Effendí and the Muftí.*

On the third day after Ibrahim's exaltation to the premiership, the reverend Effendí, Sa'd-ud-dín, went to pay him a visit, and to do him the honours due to his high office. Whilst the reverend father was sitting and holding friendly conversation with the grand vezír, letters were brought to his excellency, one of which was from Hasan Páshá, son of Mohammed Páshá. This letter informed him of the submission of the haughty Michael



and of the Boyárs of Valachia. As the exalted vezír was in the act of beginning to read these communications, the Mufti arrived to congratulate the new minister, and formed one of the company. These two magazines of learning and science sat, the one on the right and the other on the left hand of the grand vezír, resembling two lofty but firmly based mountains. These two august personages, being noble, were permitted, of course, to sit and speak in the sublime council. The papers above alluded to were put into the hands of the reverend Effendí, who began to read their contents in a loud voice, and gave his opinion freely on the points submitted to their consideration and judgment. But the Mufti, from motives dictated by envy, opposed and contradicted his reverend brother without ceremony. To his grave, wise, and straight-forward advice he would give no place. This circumstance, unfortunately, was the cause of producing a most serious altercation between the two reverend prelates, which put a complete stop, for the time being, to all further reading and cool deliberation. "Why," said the reverend Effendí, "if the Boyárs of Valachia, and Michael, have petitioned for pardon, let no discouraging answer be returned to them. Let them only be required to deliver up Michael's son, as hostage, in proof of the sincerity of their repentance. It is in this way, I propose, their letters ought to be answered." The superior priest, or Mufti, under the influence of envy, opposed this judgment, and in his turn maintained, that no offers whatever ought to be accepted at the hands of the apostate Michael. The storm increased : mutual accusations ensued. To such a length, indeed, did these reverend fathers carry their animosity and personal reproach, that they completely exhausted the patience of the other emirs present. At length the Mufti rose up from his seat, turned himself to the grand vezír, and thus addressed him: "If it please your excellency, we have come hither for the purpose of congratulating you on your recent exaltation; not for contention and strife: may the most high Allah, therefore, bless you in your high office." Thus saying, he returned to his own house. The other prelate was very much offended at the Mufti for his outrageous conduct, who, at the very commencement of their deliberations, began to oppose his opinion and advice, and then marched off in a pet. This, he said, was far from being honourable. However, he had this con-

solution afforded him: his advice was adopted and followed. Orders accordingly were given to Músa Chelebí, the secretary, to prepare a suitable answer to Michael and the other Boyárs, and Sa'd-ud-dín Effendí returned home.

*The Emperor of the Moslems prepares to set out for the scene of war.*

By the time the spring arrived the preparations deemed necessary for the war were fully attended to, and on the 15th of Ramazán the different commanders were appointed. Immediately after the feast in the month of Shevál the royal pavilion was erected on the plains of Dávud Páshá. The ulemá and great men were ordered to join the royal suite, and record the deeds of the war. On the journey, Sa'd-ud-dín Effendí regaled the royal ear, in presence of his vezírs, by talking to him of foreign affairs. On reaching Adrianople, the reverend prelate's second son, Izzet Effendí, a eunuch and cazi of Adrianople, applied to his father to importune the emperor in his favour for the caziship of Constantinople. The father's request was graciously granted. The grand army had scarcely commenced its march towards Philippopolis, when Izzet Effendí directed his course to the metropolis, but was disappointed. Abdul Helím Effendí, through the intercession of the queen-mother, was confirmed in the office of which Izzet thought himself sure, and was obliged to retrace his steps to the place whence he came. When his father had learned that his wishes respecting his son had been thwarted, he approached the grand vezír, and complained against the Káimakám Hasan Páshá, for his want of politeness, and of the disdain and contempt which had been shown to his son. The grand vezír went immediately and laid the affair before the royal presence, and added, that it had been owing to the intercession of the queen-mother the favour had not been granted: but something else he intimated ought to be conferred on the reverend priest as an equivalent. The monarch ordered his minister to create him a military judge, which was accordingly done. His father soon after this fell sick of a fever, but was fully restored to health by the time the city of Agria was taken.

On the 8th of the month Dhu'l Kadah, the emperor removed from Adrianople, and after reaching Philippopolis, the fifth stage, the cazi of that city,

Chelebí Kází, inspector of the river Ebras, gave him a splendid entertainment in a large pavilion erected for the occasion. During four days which the emperor passed in this city, nothing was seen or heard but demonstrations of joy. Chelebí Kází was confirmed in his office for life.

When the emperor arrived at Batchina, Mohammed Páshá, son of Sinán Páshá, came with a choice body of troops and saluted him. Two days afterwards, Jeráh Mohammed Páshá, who was sent to Belgrade to collect provisions, &c. for the army, came out to meet the emperor, and had the honour of kissing his hand. Shortly afterwards the emperor entered the city of Belgrade, where every thing had been prepared for the reception of the royal guest.

Soon after his majesty entered Belgrade, his royal pavilion was erected on a small eminence opposite to the city, and demonstrations of joy were every where manifested by the roar of cannon and the firing of musketry. Provisions also were distributed among the troops, and a considerable quantity of the same article was sent in boats up the Danube to the fortresses on the frontiers. It is to be observed, however, that the emperor, who was exceedingly displeased with Mohammed Páshá, the son of Sinán Páshá, for having allowed the city of Osterghún to fall into the hands of the enemy, and for neglecting to watch the frontiers with greater vigilance than he had done, put him in prison, and confiscated the whole of his property. One Kishedhán Alí Chávush, a man lame in both his feet, and who had been appointed by the late grand vezír to be resident custom-house officer at Belgrade, was discovered to have been guilty of some crime or other, and therefore ordered to be executed before one of the gates of the city; but his majesty was satisfied with having him thrust into prison. Both these prisoners, however, were afterwards set at liberty, and Mohammed Páshá was reinstated in his vezírship. In consequence of the whole of his property having been confiscated, he was not in circumstances to enable him to accompany the army, and therefore remained at Belgrade. The munificence of his late fellow-prisoner, however, made up this deficiency to him, and he immediately set out and followed the royal camp.

*A Council held.*

His majesty, the asylum of the world, removed from Belgrade, crossed the Save, and on arriving in the neighbourhood of Islancúmin, called a general council of all his princes, great lords, and high vezírs. In this council it was discussed whether it would be more advisable to commence their operations by first laying siege to Komran, or to proceed directly to Agria. To Jaghala Zádeh the first of these two proposals seemed the most proper; but the other vezírs opposed this. They said that Komran was a place of no note, and of no great importance: neither would the reduction of it reflect any great credit to their royal leader, nor very much intimidate the enemy. Agria, they maintained, and justly too, was a place of great importance, it being one of the largest and most populous cities of the Germans, the chief or principal one within the limits of Hungary; famed also for the mines which abound in its neighbourhood, and which are held in much esteem by the infidels. The reduction of this city and fortress, continued the speakers, will extend the glory and promote the honour of the Moslem religion. This speech had the effect it was intended to have; and, accordingly, the army, in order to reach Segdin, in the enemy's country, passed the fortresses of Tetul and Waradin, when the ághá of the Janissaries was ordered to proceed with carpenters and erect a bridge of boats across the Danube; which he accomplished in the space of four days. The emperor, vezírs, and the army, after having crossed this bridge, waited a whole day, until all the ordnance and heavy baggage were also safely got across, when they proceeded to the plains of Segdin, and pitched their camp opposite that fortress.

Here the royal camp was joined by the army of Romeilia with their beglerbeg, Hasan Páshá, a heroic vezír, at their head, and the sight of whom inspired the royal troops with animation and courage. His battering cannon he caused to be transported in boats along the Danube from Widin; and among other important services which he rendered on this occasion, he caused all the other Romeilian princes to be sent down the river Tisse to Segdin.

The army was not long at Segdin before a number of letters were pre-

sented before the royal presence by a deputation from the borders, which set forth the conduct of the detestable enemy in laying siege to Khutwan, and many other grievances which these infidels had given occasion to complain of. The deputation added, that if immediate aid were not afforded, the besieged Mussulmans would inevitably fall into the hands of the enemy and perish.

To prevent, therefore, the disgrace of allowing these Mussulmans to perish by the enemy's sword, Jaghala Zâdeh was ordered to proceed with a party of troops to their aid, and beat off the besiegers. But Jaghala Zâdeh, another son of Sinân Pâshâ, was too tardy in his movements, and before he had time to arrive to afford aid to Khutwan, it was in the hands of the abject enemy. All the men, women, and children were put to death, and the fortress itself was made level with the ground. The conduct of Jaghala Zâdeh on this occasion was such as deserved the severest punishment; but being highly esteemed and of noble birth, he not only escaped with impunity, but even without reproof, a circumstance which is truly marvellous and confounding.

About this same time, also, the troops created a tumult, and complained against Hâjî Ibrahim Pâshâ, the treasurer, under the pretext of not receiving their dues; for which reason the treasurer was deposed and Kej Dehân Alî, a chāvush bâshî, was appointed in his stead. On the 18th of the Moharrem the troops were all paid their wages, each man receiving his usual allowance.

After the army had reached the vicinity of the fortress of Sonluk they disembarked their serpent and dragon-mouthed cannon, which they had conveyed thither by water, and transported them on sledges drawn by oxen towards Agria, as also their heavy baggage. The royal camp, after three other stages were accomplished, reached, without being observed, an open field in the skirts of the city, where the necessary quantity of arms and ammunition was immediately distributed among the troops.

#### *Agria besieged.*

It was on the 28th of Moharrem that the Shâhin-Shâh of the universe pitched his royal camp in the plains of Agria. The two first days were



employed in arranging the machinery for making the ditches and raising mounds, and in examining the ground.

Agria appeared, in the distance, like a mountain. The top of the fortress was hid in the clouds; its towers rose one above another; and its lofty buildings and turrets filled the eye. The fortress itself was situated on a high hill, and three parts of it presented a rock, on which was built a wall so firmly constructed that cannon could hardly affect it. A huge mineral rock adjoined it on the south side, and as a guard to their outer works or fortifications, there was an immense deep ditch cut in front of them. In short, it was a place of the utmost strength—a first-rate fortress. There were in it at this time two princes; the one a relation of the Emperor of Austria, who was the commander of the Germans in it; the other the Prince of Hungary.

Before the commencement of hostilities the following communication was sent to the two above-mentioned chiefs, and to the inhabitants of Agria. "Be it known to the princes and all others in the city of Agria that we (the Emperor of the Ottomans) have come with the intention of reducing it. We, therefore, call upon you, in the name of the most High Allah, to embrace our religion. If you become Mussulmans, then we promise you shall sustain no injury from us, but shall be allowed to live in tranquillity and in the possession of all your property. If, on the other hand, you will not be converted, but continue obstinate at all hazard, then we command you to abandon your present position, and to set out for some other country. In the event of your not embracing either of the alternatives now proposed, and prepare to offer resistance; if you fire one cannon, musket, or mortar at us and our army, then, by God and by God's prophet, we shall commence a general slaughter, and not one of you shall escape. Let this be known to you. The person who carried the above to Agria was seized as a spy and put into prison.

In the meantime, however, the Moslem troops entered into the trenches they had before this prepared, and during the night planted their ordnance in the most proper position for annoying the walls and the sides of the citadel. When all was in a state of preparation the Moslems cried *Allah! Allah!* and commenced the work of destruction. Day and night the firing

of cannon and musketry and the bursting of mortars ceased not. The sound and roar of these instruments of death from both sides shook the earth, whilst the volume of smoke formed a black cloud above and around them. The brave, the heroic, the orthodox Moslems relaxed not in their mighty efforts, nor once turned away their faces from danger.

After a whole week's constant fighting, as above described, the Moslems succeeded in taking the outer line of the enemy's fortifications, and drove the enemy within the inner one. The Moslems slackened not in pressing them hard; and by the constant springing of mines they at last effected a breach; but in consequence of a constant fall of rain for some days they found it impossible, though they made several heroic attempts, to scale the walls. The artillery, however, continued to play with effect.

On the 18th of the month Sefer the command of the Janissaries was conferred on Mustafa Aghá. Next day, which was the Sabbath, and the 19th of the month, the rain fell in torrents, and the difficulty of succeeding in reducing the place appeared to be greater than ever; yet by constantly and unweariedly, and under every difficulty, persevering in their efforts, they brought the besieged, about noon of that day, to capitulate for their lives.

Next morning two begs and eight sons of begs came forth to the trenches to the vezírs, whilst Begtásh Beg, beg of Sonluk, was sent into the city as a hostage till the articles of the capitulation were fully settled and signed. This negotiation being over the commissioners were conducted into the imperial presence, when they informed his majesty that one or two of them wished to embrace Islamism. Immediately they were clothed in white robes, and the drums throughout the camp began to beat in token of victory, and great rejoicings took place. The beglerbeg of Romeili, the ághá of the Janissaries, the commander of the artillery, and the head of the arsenal, entered the city and took possession of it in the name of the Emperor of the Ottomans.

On the 20th of the last-mentioned month, the commander of the Spáhís was ordered to conduct the weak and half-famished garrison of Agria, in conformity to the articles of capitulation, which guaranteed to them their lives, to the end of the first stage; but unfortunately for them, though the

emperor had promised them every security, and even granted them passports, the men of the borders and the Tátár military, roused with indignation and thirst for revenge, when they remembered the fate of the inhabitants of Khutwan, seized on what weapons lay nearest to them, and massacred them all before they got out from among the tents. Not one of them escaped, and their number amounted to about 5,000. The two princes who had the command in Agria were sent to Belgrade.

The victorious Moslems commenced repairing the breaches which their own artillery had effected in the walls of Agria, and on the same day, *i. e.* on the 20th, the beglerbeg of Caramania, Khezz Páshá, and the begs of Sonluk and Segdin, were ordered to repair to Khutwan and commence rebuilding it. Dilsiz Aghá was sent off to Constantinople with tidings of the fall of Agria. On the 23d provisions were distributed among the various troops. The guns in the trenches were all conveyed into the fortress. On the 25th, being the day of assembly (Friday), the emperor and his suite converted the large churches of Agria into mosques, in which public devotion was performed.

*The Moslems are threatened by another immense host of Infidels.*

Some captives, who had been seized by Moslem spies, informed the Osmánli camp that Maximillian, with an army of 100,000 foot and horse, composed of Bohemians, Poles, Italians, Spaniards, and others, was encamped in the valley of Meháj not far from Tokái, and only three stages distant from Agria, where he had erected fortifications. This information had only the effect of awakening more strongly the enthusiasm of the Muselmans, who all with one voice declared they would either bring renown on the Muselman name, or perish for their religion. The news, however, turned out to be true.

In the *Fateh náme* it is said, that when it was known that the Ottomans were collecting troops on the frontiers, and marching towards Agria, an army of 300,000 men levied by the kings of Vienna and Spain, by the Pope, and the ruler of Transylvania, in short by the seven European monarchs, assembled also in the vicinity of Agria. This mighty host was furnished with one hundred pieces of ordnance, and with every kind of

military apparatus. Its object was, so soon as the Moslem army was fairly engaged in carrying on the siege of Agria, suddenly to surround their camp, and cut them to pieces. The fate of Agria, however, reached them before they found an opportunity of accomplishing their object, and caused them to alter their manœuvres. They retreated two stages, but it was only with the view of deceiving. Their real purpose was, when they found the Moslem army had retired from Agria, to return with all their force and retake it: but the Moslems, who were informed of their movements, as well as of their purposes, resolved on anticipating them on their own ground.

Maximillian being lame and afflicted with blindness, the crown was conferred on his brother, Duke Matthias, and with it the whole command of the army. It is related in some history, that after the Duke and the ruler of Hungary had united in their hostility against the Osmánlis, they debated over their cups about the propriety of attacking the Moslem camp. Other histories say, however, that it was the Austrian minister to whom the joint command was given.

*Ja'fer Páshá sent with a body of Troops to surprise the Enemy.*

After it had been fully ascertained what the enemy meditated to do, Ja'fer Páshá, one of the most illustrious vezírs, and an eunuch, was dispatched with a chosen body of various troops to surprise the enemy in their strong-hold. Ja'fer Páshá, on leaving the camp, began to reflect what the issue of the expedition on which he was sent might be, and therefore sent out spies, who brought him intelligence with regard to the numerical force of the enemy, which was immense. Ja'fer Páshá, on receiving the above intelligence, sent word to his Majesty that his offering to contend with such a vast multitude with so small a force as he possessed, could only terminate in disgrace and ruin. For his own part, he said, the thought of his own life gave him no concern, and that at all times he was ready to sacrifice it, when necessary, for the honour and glory of the Mohammedan Faith: to proceed to the assault, therefore, under such circumstances, could not fail, as he had before observed, to throw disparagement on the Supreme authority: the great men in the camp however said, that this story was a mere pretence; and, in order to remove it, proposed sending

the governor of Romeili with his Romeilian troops to his assistance. This proposal was accompanied by bitter reproach, and of course was very discouraging; yet Ja'fer Páshá, notwithstanding all this untoward aspect of things, attempted to face the enemy with the forces he had. After having girded on his arms he divided his artillery into two divisions, and having rescued his men out of the mud into which they had sunk, conducted the whole to a secure spot, but from which the enemy could not yet be observed. It was not long however before they began, like black mountains, to make their appearance, and seemed as if they covered the whole surface of the plains of Mehaj. Ja'fer Páshá, with a select body of borderers, ascended an eminence in order to get a view of the enemy's camp, which had the appearance of an extended sea, whose raging billows beat against the shore. Though the troops of Ja'fer Páshá amounted only to three thousand, he resolved, few in comparison though they were, to attempt something, and prepared to engage some of these iron-cased infidels. They on perceiving his boldness dashed towards his standard and knocked it down. The contest became general. Ja'fer himself fought most desperately, though almost up to the breast in mud and water; and continued thus to show his bravery, till all who were about him either perished or fled from the contest, and he himself was nearly taken prisoner: such was the heroic boldness which this brave man evinced on this occasion of unequal battle. Several of the ághás came up to him and begged him on bended knees to retreat. "It was no bravery," they observed, "for a handful of men to contend with a host; it was not necessary, in order to escape the reproach of the enemy, to throw one's self into utter ruin and destruction: it was impossible for a small number of men, however valiant they might be, and where there was not *one* to a thousand, either to resist such a vast multitude as that with which they then contended, or even to make an impression upon it. Return," they still continued, "return to the Moslem camp, and do not be the cause of the destruction of troops whom no one will blame. Such conduct can never advance the general interest." This exhortation had not the desired effect on the mind of the valorous chief. It was night before he consented to yield to their entreaties. One Ahmed, in consequence of the darkness



of the night, led his horse to the gates of Agria. The whole of his ordnance and heavy baggage fell into the hands of the enemy. About thirty or forty of the men perished; and had not night come on, not one of those who had entered the lists with the iron-cased soldiery would have escaped alive. Their retreat was however marvellously quick, for they performed in one night a journey of three days.

The emperor, on receiving intelligence of the above disaster, which was now become public, was displeased with Ja'fer, reprimanded him for his adventurous mode of attack, which ought to have been made during the night, deposed him from all his offices, and granted his principality to Mohammed Páshá, Sinán Páshá's son.

On the morning after the disaster above described took place, the grand vezír, the reverend prelate, Sa'd-ud-dín, the vezírs and other magnates assembled in the royal pavilion, in order to take into grave consideration the propriety of giving the enemy battle or not. In this august assembly most of the grandees opposed the experiment of offering the enemy battle. The excellent and reverend Sa'd-ud-dín, however, formed an exception. He rose and addressed the assembly in the following heroic speech: "Doubtless, it is right," said he, "to give battle to the enemy of our religion and perish to a man, rather than suffer their insult to pass unnoticed and with impunity: for should they perceive any unwillingness on our part to meet, or if they see us begin to retrace our steps, then most assuredly they will attack us. To act in this way, would be like alluring a bird into a gin. More especially," continued he, raising his voice, "was it ever heard that an emperor of the Ottomans turned away his face from danger!" And even after the members who composed this council entered the royal apartment, he continued to express the same sentiments and with the same freedom—and again added: "the situation in which this fortress (Agria) is situated, is far from being favourable to our engaging with them in so narrow a space. Should they, for instance, succeed in placing their artillery on the surrounding hills, we shall find it hard work to resist them. The plains where the enemy now lies encamped afford ample space for performing heroic exploits: thither let us march. This is the first and only thing which ought to be attended to. We must attack them and not they

us." So much for the reverend prelate. The bold and heroic speech of the veteran priest made a deep impression on the heart of his royal master, and awakened within him that innate bravery which he had inherited from his ancestors

It was proposed by some in the assembly, that Hasan Páshá, the *válí* of Romeili, should be appointed to conduct the next attack. This was opposed. To conduct so important an expedition as the one now contemplated, it was absolutely requisite, not only that the whole of the army should be called into requisition, but that the emperor himself should be its conductor. This last proposition met with the royal approval, when the discussion, of course, came to an end. The Reís Effendí immediately sent off dispatches to Sultán Fateh Gherái, brother to the Tátár khán, in which he instructed him to be on the look-out for such stragglers as might chance to fall in his way.

After the above-mentioned assembly or council broke up, the grand vezír Ibrahim Páshá entered into the fortress, and made a selection of such pieces of ordnance as could most easily be made use of in the approaching conflict. Among other arrangements which the grand vezír attended to, he appointed Súfí Sinán Páshá and Lála Mohammed Páshá, governor of Anatolia, with his provincial troops, to take charge of the garrison or rather fortress of Agria. Towards evening he returned to the emperor's pavilion, when a note from the reverend prelate was put into his hand; it imported, that if the Anatolian troops were to occupy the fortress of Agria, his majesty, when he entered the field of battle in consequence of this arrangement, would necessarily be defenceless on one side. "This," said the sagacious prelate, "is a dangerous thing. If the enemy should even attempt to get possession of Agria, its present garrison is sufficiently able to hold out till succours can be sent to them. From the garrison, in the day of battle, no aid can be expected. It is therefore proper that the troops of Anatolia, according to ancient custom, be appointed to form the right wing." Lála Mohammed Páshá was, accordingly, ordered to be in readiness with the troops under his command.

After having made a distribution of provisions to those employed in repairing the breaches and appointed to garrison the fortress, many of

whom were very ill off, the zealous, the orthodox army stood fully prepared to take the field.

*The Orthodox Army advances to attack the Enemy.*

Early in the morning of the 1st of the month of Rabia II. after the troops were all properly adjusted, and when his Majesty, the asylum of the world, had mounted his steed with pomp and great glory, the moslem, the orthodox legions, commenced their march, which they continued till after mid-day, when they happened to halt at the very place at which Ja'fer Páshá halted, when he was sent to surprise the enemy, as before related. The grand vezír lost no time in advancing a little farther, in order to reconnoitre the enemy's camp and apparent strength; and having made his observations, he determined in his own mind on commencing hostilities on the following day. He reached his own tent towards evening, and after having offered up his devotions, he was suddenly put into a state of surprise by the appearance of a royal letter which was brought to him from the emperor, and which was as follows: "I appoint thee, my lálá or adviser, to be commander-in-chief in this war: may I not return to Constantinople?" The grand vezír, as may easily be conceived, was utterly confounded and astonished at this sudden and unexpected change in the emperor's views, and hastened to consult the Reís Effendí on the subject. They were not long together, however, when a messenger arrived to call them to the emperor, who wished to see them. They proceeded to the royal pavilion together, and it was about supper-time when they reached it. Here they were met by Ghaznafer Aghá, the steward of the royal house, who took the vezír aside and conversed with him privately, and both afterwards entered into the royal apartment, and laid themselves down to sleep there. It was not long after they had laid themselves down, when behold, sixty-three iron-cased captives, which were sent by Fateh Gherái Sultán, were arranged before the royal pavilion. The object in sending these prisoners was to elicit from them information respecting the enemy, and the grand vezír and Ghaznafer were soon on the spot to put the proper interrogatories to them. The grand vezír said to Ghaznafer in their hearing, "Let the money promised by our gracious emperor be paid to these men,

and let them have security afforded to them of their personal safety." The ághá replied, that he would do all these things. This stratagem of the vezír and the ághá had the effect intended, *viz.* that of making the prisoners tell all they knew concerning their late associates in arms. They confirmed the account, more than once received before, of the confederacy formed among the European powers for annihilating the Ottoman dominions; and moreover, that Zughmund, the bán or chief of Transylvania, was amongst the enemy. The prisoners, after having given the above information, were immediately slain, and the grand vezír returned to his own tent.

Early the following morning, the 4th of the month, the troops were again put into motion; but they left their heavy baggage behind them. The emperor, with his right and left-hand troops, marched at a slow pace, and halted at so great a distance from the enemy as to secure himself from the reach of their cannon. This, however, was considered to be a disgrace; and it was after showing him the impracticability of any contact whatever at such a distance, that he ventured a little farther in advance, when he ordered a general halt.

The royal personage now took up his position in front of his own standard, and was supported by six divisions of his troops. The vezírs, according to their rank, stood on his left, and the reverend prelate Sa'd-ud-dín and two military judges on his right. The whole of their cattle and such heavy baggage as they were obliged to carry along with them, were put under the charge of a party of cavalry in the rear. The Janissaries, full of enthusiasm, and ardent for contest and battle, were placed in advance. The cannon-waggons were all chained and bound together in front of the monarch and his royal suite. Hasan Páshá, Vákl of Romeili, and the Beglerbeg of Temisvar, took up their position on one side; and the Beglerbeg of Anatolia, Lála Mohammed Páshá, the Beglerbeg of Caramania, the Beglerbeg of Haleh, and the Beglerbeg of Meræsh, in conformity with ancient custom, took up their position on the other side (*i. e.* these chiefs commanded the right and left wings which were composed of their respective troops). The advance guard was put under the command of Jaghaleh Zádeh.

*The Battle of the first Day.*

After the two hostile armies were once confronted, Sinán Páshá, belonging to the Cherkess (Circassian), Fateh Gherái and Murád Páshá, the Beglerbeg of Díárbekir, besides some other valiant and heroic chiefs, rode forth in front on their prancing horses, and giving the cry of war, rushed forward, sword in hand, to the bloody conflict and to death. They were, however, very much impeded in consequence of the marshy nature of the ground. This marsh, which resembled a small river, and which could only be forded at certain places, was occasioned by water which issued from the valley of Mehaj, and in which the enemy's camp was strongly fortified. The conflict, however, was begun, and became hotter and hotter. The vezírs stepped alternately forward and encouraged and animated the divisions, as they moved onwards to the mighty contest, and returned again to the emperor and reported progress. In consequence, however, of the enemy's cannon doing execution at a great distance, the orthodox troops were not able to get sufficiently close to their antagonists. About mid-day a cannon-ball passed over the emperor's head, but fortunately it did harm to no one; though it clearly showed that the emperor's person was in a dangerous situation, and therefore his majesty was conveyed to a tent which belonged to Yúnus Aghá, the commander of the cavalry, who afterwards fell a martyr. The well-ordered divisions, nevertheless, maintained their ranks unbroken, and continued firm.

On the opposite side of the marsh there was a dilapidated church which formed a covert to thousands of the enemy, and against whom the Cherkajís had hitherto directed their efforts. It happened, however, that the body defended by this church rushed forth to the amount of several thousands, and like wild swine, or as if enraged with wine, commenced fording the marsh or river, in the intention of coming into close quarters with their assailants. At this favourable moment, the Moslems showered volleys of ball amongst them, and Jaghaleh Zádeh, who was posted behind a hillock, coming up at the same time with his Cherkajís, did immense execution, wounding and killing vast numbers of them: so much so indeed, that he almost filled that part of the marsh with their carcasses. Their drums and



kettle-drums were seized, and such of their officers as were taken alive, were conducted before the royal presence. Those of them who escaped were terror-struck, and endeavoured to regain their strong-hold, but were intercepted by a body of Tatars who made them all prisoners, and brought them bound in chains to the emperor, who commanded that their bonnets (*i. e.* their heads) should be made to roll on the ground.

Fortune, hitherto, declared herself in favour of the orthodox army; but night coming on, and the atmosphere becoming dark and cloudy, both sides retired from the conflict for the night. Several of the Musselman veterans threw down their burdens on the spot, and waited with cheerfulness of mind for a renewal of the contest. Others, however, pitched their tents and went to rest. But, in fact, such was the tumult and confusion altogether, that the greater part of the cavalry chose to rest all night in their saddles. The sentinels were every where placed, and silence at length ensued, till the following morning when the battle was renewed.

*The Battle of the second Day.—The Defeat of the Enemy.*

The morning at length arrived. It was the 5th of the month, and the day of the Sabbath (Saturday). His imperial majesty was on horseback by daylight; the drums were ordered to beat; the victorious troops were arranged in proper order; and, placing their confidence in God, they advanced with boldness to meet the enemy of their religion. They perceived that none of the enemy occupied the position where the church, which yesterday afforded them shelter, stood, but that a great number of them had concentrated themselves near a church on the plain, about half a league distant from the left ford, finding it impracticable to defend the other fords. The orthodox army, like the raging sea, rushed forward, crossed the river, and prepared to attack their fortifications: the Janissaries put their hands to their muskets; the field-pieces were properly stationed, and each man stood in his place ready to commence at the first signal. The emperor himself did not cross the river, but remained in a tent which was erected for him on the bank. Jaghaleh Zâdeh, who commanded the Cherkajis or vanguard, took up his position immediately in front of the enemy.

Notwithstanding all this hostile attitude in which the Moslem, the orthodox troops, arrayed themselves before their enemies, they, singularly enough, never once showed their faces till about mid-day, though in fact they had made every preparation. Suddenly, however, about that time of the day, their foot soldiery came pouring forth in chariots, and after them the iron-cased dragoons, troop after troop, to the amount in all of fifteen or sixteen thousand, and formed, as it were, an irresistible barrier. Their field-pieces were placed in the most excellent order. At every step almost they fired their muskets and discharged their cannon, and continued advancing on the Moslem army like a horde of swine, whom even *Rustam* and *Zâi\** would hardly think of resisting. Their columns resembled mountains of iron, and their lines seemed incapable of being broken. The right wing of the Moslems gave way, and were thrown into confusion: the left, composed of the household troops, after making a mighty and heroic resistance, was overpowered, when the enemy forced their way to the Moslem side of the marsh. At this moment of vehement struggle and impetuous movement, the Tâtár troops advanced and supported their chief Fateh Gherái, and thus checked, in some degree, the progress of the enemy. That part of the enemy which had succeeded in throwing the right wing into confusion made a strong effort to reach the royal tent, and was only restrained for a short time by the Romeilian troops, brought up by Hasan Páshá, who with the utmost celerity attacked them in the rear, but was again repulsed by the briskness of the enemy's fire. The Spáhís, weakened by the fatigue they had undergone, and hopeless of victory, were obliged to withdraw. The rest of the troops, perceiving the field thus clear of their companions in arms, conjectured at once that the emperor had fled, and therefore immediately turned about, some taking the road to Belgrade, some to Buda, and thus leaving the enemy complete masters of the field. The victorious enemy now commenced the work of spoliation: they entered the Moslem tents and laid their hands on every thing which came in their way. Five thousand of these wretches came within bow-shot of the emperor's sejada, or prayer-carpet, when the most desperate struggle ensued. Musselman and Káfir, laying aside their muskets, betook them-

\* Ancient heroes of Persian fable.

selves to their swords, and fell to cutting and slashing each other with the most deadly animosity. The vezírs and nobles rallied round his majesty's person, and defended him with the most heroic bravery; and when some of the execrated wretches endeavoured to cut the cords of the royal tent, the ághás who were within it rushed out and slew them. It was a period which might be called an antetype of the day of the resurrection, wherein these Moslems, a mere handful, evinced the warm and genuine feelings of their loyal hearts. The reverend prelate, Sa'd-ud-dín, was not wanting in his duty: he translated, explained, and enforced the following sentiment: "Victory is gained by patience, and after difficulty comes prosperity," which was calculated both to console and tranquillize the afflicted monarch's mind: he augured, also, a happy reverse.

The despicable but now triumphant infidels, thinking themselves perfectly secure from any further annoyance from the defeated Moslems, were intent only on acquiring spoil. God did not let them, however, escape without a mark of his signal vengeance. They dispersed themselves among the tents of the royal camp in search of booty, and thus became divided. Their minds were engrossed wholly in this way, and it so happened, by the providence of God, whilst fearlessly thus employed, that the grooms, cooks, muleteers, camel-drivers, grooms, and other servants which remained in the camp, perceiving the scattered condition of their vile visitors, seized, some on axes, some on knives, or whatever other weapon fell into their hands, and fell upon these regardless spoliators, and slew as many of them as they were able. This unlooked-for retaliation so terrified these robbers that they all fled, and never halted till they got beyond their own fortifications. The cry that the infidels were routed was now sounded, and spread like wildfire every where. The affrighted Moslems returned from their hiding-places and commenced pursuing the fugitives, and slew immense numbers of them. According to the most authentic accounts it appears, that in this pursuit the pursuing army, lately vanquished but now triumphant, killed no less than 100,000 of these infidels. The victory was most decisive: the fear of the Moslems so seized upon them that they fled in all directions. The Moslem pádisháh (emperor) was declared conqueror in the battle of Mehaj: his righteous cause triumphed, and the fame of Islamism and that

of the Ottoman empire was raised to the highest renown. Never at any former period did any emperor, by so simple and so extraordinary a means, acquire so much glory. Some, however, have given a very different account of this battle.

The Defterdar (treasurer or recorder) Ibrahim Effendî, who himself was present in this war, relates it thus: On the morning of that day (*i. e.* on which the Moslems were defeated, but afterwards became conquerors, as above related), the Moslem army directed their movements towards the church situated near the lake; but finding the enemy had retreated within their fortifications they advanced, after having crossed the ford in that quarter, towards the enemy's strong-hold, keeping their cannon in the rear. The enemy, keeping close within their fortifications, did not venture to show themselves till near mid-day, when they began to issue forth in multitudes. 1st. The German foot soldiers, all of them covered with mail and carrying arms. 2d. Another body of the same race covered with breast-plates of iron, carrying arms called muskets, which were capable of discharging ten, fifteen, or twenty drachms weight. 3d. A body of Hungarians, consisting of one hundred companies, each company amounting to five hundred men, on foot and carrying fire-arms. 4th. The Hungarian cavalry, whose display of standards and flags made them resemble a mountain covered with trees. Besides all these there were also Germans, Bohemians, Poles, and men of other nations, who were mounted on horses, and carrying some three, some four, some five Hungarian fire-arms. The whole of this immense army exceeded fifty divisions.

This immense number of troops is stated in the infidels' own history of events belonging to the period referred to. The karals (kings) and dukes of different nations and states who aided the Emperor of Austria in this war, caused the number of their respective troops to be taken down, and the whole put together amounted to more than two hundred legions, besides another army which they say had not reached the field of battle. But to continue. The hostile divisions advanced, maintaining as they did so a constant fire of musketry and other fire-arms. Murád Páshá and the Bostánjí báshí, Ali Páshá, were sent to support Sinán Páshá; but the dreadful effect of the musketry was such that they found it impossible to withstand

it, and therefore retraced their steps across the marsh, when they dispersed themselves through the fields. The enemy continued to press forward, with drums beating and the constant roar of cannon and of musketry, directly towards the royal camp. Hasan Páshá and his Romeilian troops were ordered to take up their position at the head of the ford on the right, and oppose them; but this effort proved ineffectual. The showers of musketry which were poured in amongst them prevented their maintaining their ground for a moment, and therefore they retired and joined the main body. The fearless and inconsiderate infidels no sooner reached the royal camp, though the Moslems were by no means broken and dispersed, than they recklessly gave themselves over to the work of spoliation and plunder. Two regiments of them made towards the imperial treasures, dispersed the Janisaries and Spáhís who had been appointed to guard them, drew out the coffers from the tent in which they were placed, threw down their cross-bearing banners, and began to dance for joy; but their joy was not of long duration.

These disastrous appearances altogether were truly afflicting, and to none did they appear more so than to Sa'd-ud-dín Effendí. He counselled his majesty to continue firm and to maintain his position. "Such is the state of matters at present," said he to his majesty, "and such they frequently were in the days of your illustrious progenitors; but depend upon it," continued the reverend prelate, "depend upon it, that by a Mohammedan miracle the Mohammedan people, God willing, will yet obtain the victory: keep up, therefore, sire, your spirits, and be of good courage." It is related that the emperor was informed of the disasters which befel his army whilst he was sitting on horseback, and the reverend prelate standing at his stirrup, to whom he dictated a humble and earnest supplication, which the prelate offered up to God. The Germans have recorded that this prayer or supplication was heard.

Of the enemy's entering the royal camp, and of their having given themselves over to the work of spoliation, we have already spoken. The enemy were astonished beyond bounds at the sight of the vast riches and wealth which the Osmánli camp presented to their view. In fact, their eyes had never before seen such a quantity of wealth. In their thirst and greediness



to acquire the valuables they every where saw around them, they forgot, or laid aside the art of war. The repulsed Moslems, seeing how their enemies were engaged, and watching their every motion, began to reflect how they might recover their property which their enemies were busily employed in appropriating to themselves. Just at this moment, and towards evening, an army raised up by God himself accomplished the destruction of these wretches. The grooms, cooks, and other menials who belonged to the camp, and who still remained in it, were roused to indignation. Some seized on axes, some on spades, or similar instruments, and fell, with undaunted fury, on the robbers, and slew many of them. The barbarians, by this circumstance, were panic-struck, and began to run away. The cry now resounded that the enemy had fled: the Moslems, who through fear had fled from the field of battle, returned at this exhilarating sound, fell with exasperated rage on the fugitives, and killed every one they were able to overtake. Not a few even of those of them who wore chains perished from fear and palpitation of heart. It may be affirmed, without incurring the charge of overstepping the bounds of truth, that fifty thousand of these hateful wretches fell by the edge of the sword. Very many of them stuck in the mud, and were there beheaded. Twenty thousand of their cavalry perished in one short hour on the right of the camp, by the heroic bravery of Sinán Páshá and his men. Vast numbers of them were drowned in the marsh. To complete their ruin, Fateh Gherái, with his Tátár troops, pursued them even to their own fortifications, where they attempted to offer resistance, but again their courage failed them. They left all, and escaped only with their heads to the surrounding mountains. Ten thousand ducats, ninety-seven pieces of ordnance, with the whole of their magazines of powder, their mortars, their light guns, and in short, the whole of their arsenal fell into the conquerors' hands. Thus did these wretches meet with retributive justice. To have slain so many in so short a period, it has been observed, could not have been the work of mere mortals. Those who were eye-witnesses, and who related these other facts, declared, that there was no comparison between the number who died in actual battle to the number that perished otherwise.

This victory was gained on the 5th of Rabia II., 1005 of the Hejirah.

*The Premiership conferred on Jaghaleh Zâdeh Sinân Pâshâ.*

After having finally defeated and put to flight the enemy, as above related, Jaghaleh happened to reach the emperor before the grand vezîr, Ibrahim Pâshâ, had time to do so, and said to him: "Sire, your slave has been the means of obtaining this glorious victory;" and boasted of himself at no allowance. The reverend prelate, and Ghaznafer Aghâ, who witnessed his vanity, or who at least heard him tell of his exploits, thought it would be but justice to confer the seals of office on him, and therefore induced the emperor to promise to send them to him.

Being now, as he thought, firmly established in the office of prime minister, he caused himself to be congratulated as such, and to have his hand kissed. It was not long, however, before it began to be rumoured that Jaghaleh was the very first who had taken flight. In the meantime, the grand vezîr also arrived and confirmed the joyful tidings which had just a little before been communicated to the emperor; but this had not the least effect in making him alter the resolution he had come to with respect to the seals of office: neither did he give any hint of it to the grand vezîr himself, who, soon afterwards, returned to his tent and devoted himself to the duty of conferring gifts and presents on those who had signalized themselves with him in the battle, not knowing that he was deposed. He also sent off couriers to recall such of the Moslem fugitives as had not returned to their duty.

The following day, as Ibrahim was on the eve of accompanying Jerâh Mohammed Pâshâ and Ja'fer Pâshâ to the field of battle, and examining the ground lately occupied by the enemy's camp, as well as all the tents and other furniture which they had been under the necessity of abandoning, the reverend prelate hastened to the royal tents to enquire of Ghaznafer whether Ibrahim still retained the seals or not, and wondered much whether his majesty was sincere in what he yesterday proposed: "it would have been better," he added, "if his majesty had rejected Jaghaleh's request." The other replied, he did not know what the emperor had done with respect to the seals. The prelate observed that the change might occasion, at some future period, a disagreeable tumult and uproar. Ghaznafer Aghâ, the emperor's

chamberlain, said he was afraid to say any thing further about the matter to his royal master, but that he was a witness of his royal master's attachment to Ibrahim.

In the midst of this conversation between the emperor's spiritual guide and his chamberlain, the grand master of the horse went boldly into his majesty's presence, and related to him the whole of the prelate's conduct in this affair, and asked what evil he had seen in Ibrahim that he should be so summarily dismissed. "As for this Ghaznafer," said he, "he is a Frank by birth, and of the same race with Jaghaleh, the son of Sinán Páshá. It is right and proper therefore," continued this grand master of the stables, "to make enquiry into Ibrahim's conduct. Let him be called into your own presence, hear his account, and you will then be convinced that the insinuations which have been made are false." Whilst this officer went out to order a horse for his majesty, that he might go forth and examine matters on the field in person, the reverend prelate renewed his efforts in favour of Jaghaleh; and the result was, that the emperor, after a few moments of reflection, ordered an officer of the Kapújis to proceed and take the seals from Ibrahim and give them to Jaghaleh. This latter officer hastened to Ibrahim's tent to fulfil his commission; but not finding him there, he proceeded towards the field of battle whither Ibrahim had gone, and met him returning to the Moslem camp. He told him the purport of his mission, received the seals, and went and delivered them to Jaghaleh.

The late victory and glory acquired by the Moslem army having been acquired under the auspices of Ibrahim Páshá, it may easily be conjectured that Jaghaleh did not much enjoy his promotion. His imprudence and mismanagement, in short, his whole conduct created him many enemies; but we shall hear of him afterwards.

### *The Fugitives punished.*

After Jaghaleh was confirmed in the premiership, he commenced an inquiry with respect to those of the Moslems who had fled in the day of battle, which inquiry continued for the space of three successive days. The result of this inquiry was, that 30,000 were discovered to have deserted their

colours, and were therefore not only cut off from receiving pay and provisions, but permission was given to slay them wherever any of them might be found. Those who did return, in consequence of the late grand vezír's invitation, were miserably and cruelly put to death. Yúnus Aghá, in whose tent the emperor took refuge during the action, the Aghá of a regiment and many other worthies, he caused to be beheaded. This Yúnus was master of the horse to the grand vezír, Sinán Páshá, and was honoured by his majesty's entering his tent on the day of battle, as already related. Much innocent blood was made to flow by the instrumentality of the new vezír, which roused a spirit of general murmuring against him. By his imprudent and violent conduct in trying to rectify the evil, he not only gave greater prominence to it in the sight of the enemy, but confirmed those Muselman troops who fell into the hands of the enemy in their terror of him, and inclined them to stay where they were, or caused them to seek refuge in their provinces. He executed all those who fell into his hands, and confiscated their property. When he returned to Belgrade he degraded Sohráb Páshá of Egypt, a man of great rank and office, and made him wear old and tattered garments.

So great indeed was the consternation into which his intolerable government plunged every one of the military, that very many of them fled to Anatolia, which so roused the inhabitants of that country that they were constrained to rise in their behalf, and thus caused a rebellion which only terminated with his downfall. Among the many instances of his maladministration, the following was by no means the least: He removed Ghází Gherái Khán, Khán of the Tátárs, from holding the supreme authority, and placed Fateh Gherái in his room, a circumstance which caused great disorder and tumult among the Tátárs, and finally led to the murder of the latter.

*The conquering Moslems return to Agria.*

After the contemptible enemy had been defeated and routed, as before related, the drums were kept beating and rejoicings celebrated till supper-time that night. Next day a diván was summoned, and congratulations offered on account of the success which the Muselmans had achieved.

They remained three days in the valley of Mehaj after the troops were all gathered together. The command of the Janissaries was conferred on Tarnakjí Aghá. The ninety-seven pieces of ordnance taken from the enemy were transported to the fortress of Solnuk, or distributed among the Beglerbegs and Begs of Sanjaks, and other divisions of the army. On the 11th of Rabia II., the whole army returned to Agria. About the middle of the same month, Alí Aghá, Aghá of the household troops, was sent to Constantinople to announce the success of the Moslem arms. One thousand Kúl Oghlí and one thousand Agria Janissaries were registered and left as a garrison at Agria: and Tarnakjí Aghá, and three thousand Janissaries were left there also as an army of observation. The Beglerbeg of Romeili, Valí Páshá, and one thousand Janissaries were appointed to garrison Buda.

*The Emperor returns to Constantinople.*

Towards the end of Rabia II., the emperor, the asylum of the world, left Agria, and passing through Solnuk, Segdin, and Waradin, arrived at Belgrade, where he rested two days, appointed the fourth vezír, Hasan Páshá, commander-in-chief of the army, and afterwards set out for the metropolis.

*Jaghaleh, the grand vezír, deposed.—Ibrahim is reappointed.*

Jaghaleh Zâdeh Sinán Páshá's maladministration secured him, as might easily have been prognosticated, the hatred and aversion of all ranks, high and low, prince and people. As soon as the emperor had reached the place called Khurmán, near Adrianople, he dispatched Omar Aghá, secretary to the Chávush Báshí, to receive back the seals from Jaghaleh, and to deliver them to Ibrahim Páshá, his predecessor in office. Jaghaleh himself was exiled to Aksheher, beyond the Hellespont, where he was doomed to spend his days in obscurity and inactivity.

Ibrahim Páshá was no sooner reinstated in the premiership than he waited on his majesty, and paid him all due acknowledgment for the honour conferred on him. On returning to the camp, he banished Mohammed Aghá, master of the horse, the writer of this account; besides several other favourites of the late grand vezír, whom he turned out of office. Ghází



Gherái, the ex-khán, was reinstated in the regal dignity over the Tátárs of the Crimea. Hasan Páshá, the son of Mohammed Páshá, who was lately made commander-in-chief, was deposed, and Satúrjí Mohammed Páshá appointed in his stead. Thus did Ibrahim Páshá compensate his own friends for the injuries they had sustained in consequence of his deposition. Even the reverend prelate Sa'd-ud-dín Effendí was not allowed to escape without feeling the effects of the new vezír's displeasure. He was deposed from his high office, and to prevent him from carrying on intrigue and fraud with the learned body of which he was a member, he was obliged to live a recluse life, even that of a hermit.

The services and heroism of Jaghaleh Zádeh we have already contemplated. We have seen how he attributed the victory gained over the infidels at Mehaj to his own bravery and proper management; how he endeavoured to throw the services of Ibrahim Páshá into the shade, and, in short, how he succeeded by fraud and artifice to get himself created grand vezír. It is said that the emperor, when he first petitioned to be made prime minister, demurred; and that it was only after he represented the great interest he possessed among the troops, who doubtless would create a tumult in his favour, if he was not raised to the dignity of the premiership, that his majesty at last agreed to confer the seals on him. In fact, he did not scruple even to assert that there were not wanting signs of this disposition in the soldiery at the very time he was speaking to the emperor, and thus urged him to a compliance with his wishes. Jaghaleh was a man of great intrepidity, but wrathful. His heart was unacquainted with gentleness and compassion. In consequence of his reckless and horrible cruelties towards the unfortunate fugitives, and other crimes, the hearts of all were turned against him, and his downfall was sought. When Ibrahim was again raised to the grand vezírship, new life seemed to be transfused throughout all ranks; and all rejoiced at Jaghaleh's misfortunes. The chancellor, Ali Chelebí, who wrote a detail of the victories obtained in the conquest of Agria, and in the battle of Mehaj, wrote it in the name of Jaghaleh, as if he really were the conqueror, and praised him in the most extravagant manner. For this he was not only sharply rebuked, but also deposed. Okjí Zádeh was appointed in his stead.

When his majesty reached Davud Páshá, on his return, he was there met by the Káimákám Hasan Páshá, the eunuch, and the mufti, who came thither with a splendid escort to congratulate his majesty on his return, and on the successes which had attended the Moslem arms. On the 6th of Jemadi II. the grandees and nobles preceded the army in solemn procession to the imperial city, and conducted his majesty to his royal palace, and for three successive days and nights the whole exhibited nothing but demonstrations of joy. Núh Páshá was appointed to the government of Caramania; and as a mortification to the reverend prelate, so frequently mentioned in the course of this history, and latterly so very unfortunate, his eldest son, Mohammed Effendí, was deprived of his office of cazi, in Anatolia, which was given to Kúsh Yahiah Effendí, who had been deposed from the jurisdiction of Mecca. Two days after these changes and new appointments had taken place, the prelate's son-in-law, the governor of Romeili, Yahiah Effendí, just mentioned, and the poet, Báki Effendí, met and consulted together how they might succeed in again bringing Sa'd-ud-dín into notice and favour. They got the chancellor, Okjí Zádeh, to draw out a document in his favour, recommending him to the caziship of Mecca. But the grand vezír, the prelate's enemy, succeeded in getting some of the Aghás about the queen-mother to hinder this document finding its way to the royal presence, and kept it back two days.

In the meantime the reverend prelate was made acquainted with what was going on in his favour, and sent his slaves and other property to the empress, supposing she would, by her interference, prevent his being sent to any place distant from the metropolis. He was mistaken: for an answer to the above document or petition was sent to the petitioner, which intimated that the reverend prelate, to prevent his exercising fraud and deceit in future, should retire to a cell, and there pass the remainder of his life in religious meditation. The learned body of the Ulemá, however, ventured to oppose the grand vezír, and therefore entered into consultation with the mufti, Bostán Zádeh, as to the way they should act.

*Concerning Fateh Gherái.*

After the conquest of Agria, and the subsequent victory gained at Mehaj, when Jeghala Zâdeh Sínán Páshá was raised to the premiership, as recorded in former sections of this work, he, in his imprudence, caused Ghází Gherái Khán to be removed from holding the khánship of the Crimea, and put his brother, Fateh Gherái, in his place; alleging that Fateh Gherái had rendered very great and important services in the late war, and therefore ought, as his reward, to ascend the throne of the Tátár kháns. Fateh Gherái, more virtuous than the prime minister, strongly dissuaded the premier from his purpose, urging as a powerful reason, that were he to accede to the proposal, he would thereby be invading the rights of his brother; of one who had been to him, he said, not only a kind brother, but a father also. The grand vezír's solicitations, however, were too powerful to be long resisted, and therefore he consented to be made khán. The new vezír, Ibrahim Páshá, however, reversed this arrangement, for he was no sooner reinstated in the premiership, than he meditated the re-installing of Ghází Gherái in his former dignities. He therefore called a council of the vezírs and the other magnates of the state, and laid this subject as a matter of discussion before them. This council prepared papers, which stated that Ghází Gherái had filled the Tátár throne with dignity, that he had the esteem and good will of his tribe, and that the whole of the tribe had paid a cheerful obedience to his sway; whereas, the papers went on to say, that if Fateh Gherái were allowed to usurp his authority and place, a rebellion would doubtless be the consequence: besides, it was further stated, that to place Fateh Gherái on the throne of the Tátárs would be to deprive the other, the lawful sovereign, of his just rights and titles without his own consent, or even without any shadow of reason whatever, and thus make him appear unworthy of holding the office of khán.

Accordingly, letters were prepared in the name of both these princes and committed to one Khundán Aghá, a Circassian, with instructions to act according to circumstances. He was instructed, for instance, that if he perceived, on his arrival in the Crimea, that the Tátárs still adhered to Ghází Gherái, he was to deliver to him the letter addressed to him; and on

the contrary, if he saw that they were in subjection to Fateh Gherái, he was in this case to deliver to him the one addressed to him, and invite Ghází Gherái to come to Turkey.

Khundán Aghá set out with these two royal letters and landed at Kafa, in the Crimea, but found on his arrival there that Ghází Gherái had already embarked for the imperial dominions, though he had not yet sailed. The officer, forgetting his instructions, attached himself exclusively to the interests of the ex-khán, and without further inquiry delivered the packet addressed to him, and exercised, besides, other unwarrantable liberties. The ex-khán, on receipt of the above packet, disembarked and returned to Kafa, took advantage of the frauds exercised by the officer, showed the documents from Constantinople of which the officer was the bearer, and, lastly, announced himself as recalled by these documents to the exercise of the khánship.

When Fateh Gherái perceived what was going on to his prejudice, as now mentioned, he bestirred himself in order to thwart the purposes and endeavours of the ex-khán. He, too, produced a royal mandate, which he said had been sent to him, and which confirmed him in the khánship. Hence arose a very serious dispute between these two royal brothers respecting the khánship: the Tátárs became divided. Abdur-rahmán Effendí maintained, that as Fateh Gherái's document was more recent, it ought to be regarded as the only one which had any claim, and as dispossessing Ghází Gherái for ever of the throne of the Tátárs. The mufti of Kafa thought otherwise. He said that all the imperial commands which had been received acknowledged Ghází Gherái as the legitimate sovereign of the Crimea; that they confirmed him in the exercise of regal authority; and that the document which Fateh Gherái had presented was altogether doubtful, if not an artifice to impose upon them. One single paper, letter, or written document, he further maintained, was not sufficient of itself for them to act upon; and to do so would be both injudicious and imprudent. There can be no doubt, continued the mufti, that to disobey or disregard the imperial authority, as vested in the person of Ghází Gherái, will be considered as obstinacy and rebellion. After having delivered this speech he gave forth judgment in favour of Ghází Gherái, rejecting Fateh Gherái's pre-

tensions altogether as spurious. The whole of the tribe followed the high priest, and declared in favour of Ghází Gherái, leaving Fateh Gherái the victim of astonishment and surprise. Some forward persons, more zealous than prudent, insisted that he, Fateh Gherái, should do homage to his elder brother and make an apology to him. The simple-hearted prince, influenced by the arguments which were employed to incline him to do so, went to his brother and did as he was required; but it proved fatal to him. On coming out from his brother's presence he was met by a body of mirzás, adherents of the former, who fell upon him and murdered him, cutting him to pieces. Not satisfied with this, they also extirpated the whole of his family, leaving neither root nor branch.

Ghází Gherái having been reinstated in the regal authority, the Mirzás and Tátárs yielded obedience to his firmáns, and all rancour and dispute was at an end. Fateh Gherái, it must be acknowledged, was an excellent man, a great hero, and well qualified to fill a throne. By Jeghala's un-called-for interference in his favour he eventually lost his life, and his whole family were rooted out from the face of the earth.

Ghází Gherái, now absolute and supreme, commanded a fortress to be erected in the heart of Circassia, which was afterwards fully completed. Khundán Aghá returned with great joy to Constantinople, and related the success of his mission to the Crimea; but the emperor was so very much displeased with him for the conduct he had pursued, that his case was deferred for future consideration.

#### *New appearances of hostilities.*

The loss of Yanuk on a former occasion, the conquest of Agria, and the immense loss sustained in the valley of Mehaj this year, were disasters, no doubt, which must have sensibly affected the Emperor of Austria. He soon showed that this was really the case; for the grand sultán had scarcely returned to his metropolis, when the Austrian emperor again assembled another vast army, which was ordered to march on Yanuk. Sátúrjî Mohammed Páshá, who was appointed commander-in-chief, wrote a statement of the ill condition of the troops under his command to the grand vezír, who again laid it before his majesty. Accordingly, stores of all kinds and ten thousand ducats from the imperial coffers were immediately voted for his



use. The grand vezír himself made a present of his own horses and beasts of burden, and the other vezírs followed his example. Five regiments or legions and ten thousand Janissaries, under the command of Alí Aghá, the deputy of the ághá of the Janissaries, were appointed to take the field. Ahmed Effendí, son of Etmekjí, was appointed military treasurer, and one thousand yúks of money were put under his charge for the purpose of defraying the expense of the war. The troops of Romeili, of Anatolia, of Caramania, of Sivás, of Diarbeker, of Meræsh, and of Ruka, were all ordered on this expedition. Letters were also issued to the Tátár Khan, ordering him to be present with his troops.

The serdár or commander-in-chief, after the above arrangements were fully attended to, commenced his march to Adrianople, reached Sofia on the 7th of Dhu'l hijja, and the plains of Belgrade on the 29th of the same, which concluded the year.

#### EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1006 H.

On the 2nd day of the new year, *i. e.* the 2nd of the month Moharrem, the commander-in-chief entered Belgrade with his army, and there they rested for the space of twenty days, during which time provisions and other necessaries were distributed among the various troops.

The beglerbeg of Anatolia, Mohammed Páshá, joined the grand army with his provincial troops on the 8th of the month, on which day the whole camp moved forward, crossed the Save, and marched towards Serim. The Serdár followed on the 23rd, and joined his camp in the plains of the last-mentioned place. The beglerbeg of Bosnia, Háfiz Ahmed Páshá, joined himself and his provincials to the grand army at Zemún, and Murád Páshá, the váli of Diarbeker, at Usk. The beglerbeg of Romeili, Váli Páshá, and the beglerbeg of Buda, Mikáeljeli Ahmed Páshá, met the grand army at the head of the lake, near Buda.

Information having been given that the enemy had laid siege to Yanuk, it was determined, in a council of war, to march to the relief of that fortress. Ten pieces of ordnance, small and great, taken from the fortress of Buda, were put under the charge of the troops under Váli Páshá and Ahmed Páshá. The grand army reached the plains of Dál on the 20th of the month, where it encamped; and here also it was joined by the beglerbegs

of Sivás and Ruka, with their respective troops. Here also they received information confirming the intelligence they had formerly obtained respecting the siege of Yanuk. By some prisoners which were brought in they were assured that Maximillian, with forty or fifty thousand troops, was busily engaged in the reduction of that place. This information induced the Moslem army to go over to the little island called Komran.

In the meantime, however, the veterans of Yanuk having a favourable opportunity offered to them did not let it slip. They impetuously rushed out of their strong-hold, seized about one thousand prisoners, and slew twice that number.

As soon as the pieces of ordnance were brought forward, the Moslems removed to Tata, placed their guns against it, and commenced firing them on the 26th of the month Sefer. This fortress had undergone the same fate with Yanuk, and was now in the hands of the enemy. It was therefore considered of importance to attempt its reduction.

Towards the end of the month, the household troops were divided into two divisions. One division was stationed near Osterghún, and the other near Komran, as armies of observation. Mines were laid with the utmost diligence; but to enter the breaches which had been effected was found too difficult a task, owing to the steepness of the place. When the attempt was made, the veterans who did so were driven back by the bursting of shells, and by the stones which were hurled at them. But though they did not succeed in entering the breaches, they did not fail to distress the besieged by their field-pieces and mines. Such, in fact, was the effect this mode of operation had on the minds of the besieged, that they supposed that if they continued to hold out one day longer, they would fall victims to their own temerity and obstinacy; and, therefore, under cover of night, they left the fortress, fled through the rushes and long grass, which grew in abundance about the place, and made their way towards the fortress of Komran. Mohammed Páshá, the beglerbeg of Anatolia, having that night the charge of the watch, perceived their motions, pursued them with vigour, slew a number of them, and made others of them prisoners. But it is necessary to observe, that in consequence of the abundance of rushes and long grass which grew along the sides of the lakes and in the channel between it and

Komran, many of these heathens escaped by hiding themselves among them.

The place was taken on the 1st of Rabia II. after the enemy had abandoned it, and those of the enemy who besieged Yanuk also fled. The breaches made in the fortress of Yanuk were repaired in about eight days, and afterwards about a thousand measures or bags of flour were deposited in it. The garrison who had charge of it, and who were hired to keep possession of it, came with their officers to the commander-in-chief, and told him they had fulfilled their engagements, demanded their stipulated hire, and, at the same time, to have their names enrolled as worthy of promotion. They were continued in the garrison for another year, and their case was represented to court.

On the 8th, the grand army was joined, whilst encamped at the head of the lake, by Núh Páshá, the beglerbeg of Caramania, and on the 10th the whole camp removed to Old Buda.

*A Council held.—The army marches on Waj.*

In the meantime the inhabitants of Buda sent in a representation to the Serdár of the danger in which they considered themselves. They stated, that ever since the reduction of Osterghún, Buda became, by that event, a frontier city, and was, therefore, more in danger from the enemy. They insisted that that was the only time for recovering so important a place. "The summer," they said, "is nearly at an end, and the enemy are not so numerous as on former occasions. God willing," they added, "the vanquishing of it will not be difficult. If, on the other hand," the Budians still speaking, "you will not attempt what we think you should attempt, we will in such a case send letters of complaint against you to court. This is what we will do."

In consequence of this representation by the Budians a council was immediately held, and the subject seriously discussed. The Janissaries decidedly opposed the measure as altogether out of time. They alleged that the time of the year for making trenches and raising mounds was past. Osterghún, they said, was not of such importance as some other places, and therefore they did not think the request of the Budians should be complied with.

The Serdár, when he perceived that the Budians insisted on his following their advice, turned round upon them and said: "if you all come forth and assist in making the trenches and mounds requisite in such an enterprise, and with heart and hand engage to labour in the undertaking, we with the whole of our Moslem army will return to lay siege to Osterghún." The Budians promised to comply.

It so happened, however, that, after the head of artillery had embarked twenty badlooshkas (a kind of ordnance) and ten pieces of large cannon on board the transports which lay in the river (Danube), and all were in a state of readiness to march, a heavy fall of snow, about a cubit deep, fell during the night, which at once put a stop to the whole of the enterprise. It was agreed on all hands to postpone the expedition to some future but more advantageous period.

On the 12th of the month Teryáki, Hasan Páshá arrived in the camp and informed the Serdár that the prince of Transylvania had attacked Temiswar. In consequence of this intelligence, the beglerbeg of Sívás, Mahmúd Páshá, the beglerbeg of Ruka, Ali Páshá, and the beglerbeg of Adna, Mohammed Páshá, were all ordered with their respective troops to march to the aid of Temiswar. About the same time, also, the Moslems learned that a body of the enemy's troops had passed Osterghún, and had gone towards Waj. This determined the Serdár to alter his plans, and to march against them. In the space of five days the Moslem army passed through the plains of Pest; and on the 15th of the month crossed the bridge of the above place, when a tremendous fall of snow, the very next day, began to fall, and occasioned much pain and uneasiness to the troops. On the 18th, the army halted at a place called Armúdlí. Here they waited for the arrival of their ordnance, which had been embarked as before mentioned.

In the meantime a party of Tátárs brought into the camp about twenty prisoners they had seized, and who informed the Serdár of the state of the siege carried on against Temiswar. On the 21st, they encamped before the fortress of Waj. A considerable body of the enemy lay encamped on a narrow kind of pass a little above Waj, on the Danube. On the land side they were guarded by a ridge of high mountains, and by an extensive ditch in front. Within this trench or ditch they had erected ramparts and bas-

tions, and were every way supplied with all sorts of implements of war. The Moslems finding it impracticable to attack them in front, or on the mountain side, determined to attack them from behind. They, accordingly, made arrangements with this view. The advance guard of the Moslems, after four days' march round the mountain, advanced on them in the rear within the range of their artillery, and were met by a few companies of Hungarian troops who feigned resistance, but who soon retired within their works—thus seeking to bring the Muselmans within the range of their artillery.

The beglerbegs of Anatolia, of Caramania, of Bosnia, of Sívás, with their respective provincials, formed the right wing: the troops of Romeili and of Buda formed the left: the Janissaries, with the commander-in-chief at their head, formed the centre: the beglerbeg of Diárbeker, Murád Páshá, and the beglerbeg of Uskudár, Delí Nasúh Páshá, were attached to the advance guard. On the following morning (*i. e.* the morning of the fifth day after commencing their march round the mountain), and just as hostilities were about to begin, a celebrated Spanish captain belonging to the Spanish infantry in the enemy's army submitted himself to the Osmánlis and embraced Islamism. In the meantime, the Moslems considered that if they could succeed in dispossessing the enemy's foot soldiers of their position on the heights of the mountain, who were very annoying to the Moslems, they would be sure of gaining the victory. To accomplish this desirable object, some of the most daring of the Janissaries and *At-oghláns* rushed upon them with knives and other similar instruments in their hands. These were supported in their attempt by the Bosnian and Budian troops who were engaged with those of the enemy stationed on the out works. The beglerbeg of Romeili was sent forward with a detachment to succour those combatants, and by his dexterity succeeded in forcing a considerable number of the enemy into the open field, where a great many of them perished. This, however, only made room for more of them. They issued forth, troop after troop, and by their cannon and muskets, it must be acknowledged, committed serious mischief among the Moslems immediately in contact with them, and whom it was found absolutely necessary to aid by a body of *Salihdárs*. On this detachment having been sent forward to



aid the Moslem combatants, Maximillian, the commander-in-chief of the infidels, came forth with his mighty hosts, who, along with the guns on the fortifications, very much distressed them; though they continued to fight manfully till night came on, when the drum warned them to retire.

Those troops who attacked the infidels on the heights of the mountain were led on by Delí Nasúh Páshá, the páshá of Uskudár, and who, descending from his horse, fought on foot with the utmost bravery. It would be impossible to relate all the heroic deeds which he and his veteran associates achieved on that day. The day following, however, the Moslems offered no battle, but attended to their sick and wounded, and interred those martyrs who had fallen in the mortal contest. On the second day they again commenced their military operations. The troops of Romeili and Buda, supported by other divisions, presented themselves before the enemy's fortifications, when another desperate struggle commenced, which lasted till night, as on the former day; but which, alas! brought no victory to the Moslem arms. The Osmánlis now thought it advisable, seeing they had been unable to conquer, and because the winter had set in, which was unfavourable for warlike operations, to retire and seek their safety in retreat. But lest injury should happen to the bridges on the Danube and the Drave should they retire in confusion by them, they chose another way of saving themselves; and accordingly sent off their heavy baggage on the 28th, and soon afterwards commenced their retreat, which they accomplished without sustaining any serious injury. Such was the result of this campaign.

The orthodox troops, with their Serdár at their head, returned by Armúdlí and Pest, and encamped before the mills near the island of Koyún (or Sheep Island).

Whilst the camp continued at this place, another deputation arrived and presented themselves before the serdár, and informed him of the progress of the Transylvanians against Temiswar. The beglerbeg of Sivas Mahmúd Páshá, with the Bosnian troops and some Romeilian chiefs, were appointed to march to the aid of Temiswar, which they did on the 2d of the second Rabia.

The troops under the serdár, however, began to murmur about their

pay; yet those of Yanuk were very active; for they erected a bridge across the Danube in the space of three days, which the serdár crossed on the 5th of Rabia II., and marched to Kiris Elias, where he halted. Here he learned that the enemy had broken up their camp, and had returned to their own dominions. On the 8th he reached the plains of Hamza-beg, where the beglerbeg of Buda took his leave of him and departed. Here also the Serdár granted the whole of the troops leave to disperse, and went himself directly to Belgrade, which he reached towards the end of the month; and from that city he sent a statement of the campaign to the court of Constantinople. The beglerbeg of Caramania, Nasúh Páshá, and the beglerbeg of Bosnia, Teryákí Hasan Páshá, remained at Buda: as also did the váli of Meræsh. A thousand of the troops were placed in the garrison. The rest of the troops, after they were allowed to disperse, sought winter quarters, some in Romeili, some in Anatolia, some in Bajka, some in Súmber. The menials of the camp were also permitted to disperse, but their ághás remained at Belgrade.

Proposals of peace with the infidels were at this time attempted, but without any happy result. Khoja Murád Páshá, Hábel Effendí, cázi of Buda, and Ali Páshá, the son-in-law of Murád Páshá, went to the plains of Waj, after the retreat of the Moslems, and endeavoured to negociate an honourable peace: but the infidels' noses were in the wind (*i. e.* exercised caution), and the Moslem negociators were obliged to return without accomplishing the object of their mission.

*The Grand Vezír, Ibrahim Páshá, deposed,—Khádum Hasan Páshá succeeds to the premiership.*

Satúrjî Mohammed Páshá, the commander-in-chief in the late campaign, in order to exonerate himself from any blame which might attach to him for not having been so successful in the late war as had been expected, represented his want of success to the failure of the Tátár khán's fulfilling his injunctions to come to his assistance, and to the smallness of the number of troops which acted under him. This statement made no pleasant impression on the mind of the emperor, who was by this time but too much displeased with the grand vezír for the part he had acted towards this

khán on a former occasion, as we have already related in a preceding chapter. On this account, therefore, as well as for some offence which the grand vezír had given to the queen-mother; and also on account of some handsome presents which Khádum Hasan Páshá had made: and moreover, because Ibrahím's capacity for governing had become more and more disputed, the emperor, for these reasons, one day called the mufti into his royal presence and began his conversation thus: "I purpose," said the monarch, "to make a change in the premiership: whom do you think worthy of being elevated to that station?" The reverend mufti replied, that if he meant to dismiss his servant Ibrahím, it must, of course, be for some crime. What is that crime? The emperor, having thought a little, said "that there was no end to his crimes," and adverted to the part he had acted with regard to the two Tátár princes. "Was it, think you," said the sublime monarch, "a crime of small magnitude that he should have been the means of the death of Fateh Gherái, and all its consequent evils?" The reverend mufti, after hearkening to this apostrophe, proposed Jeráh Páshá, the senior vezír. The emperor demurred, and said Jeráh had no capacity for managing affairs; and that therefore he preferred giving the office to Khádum Hasan Páshá, whose superior wisdom and prudence was spoken of through the whole city of Constantinople. The reverend mufti bowed, joined in his praises, and exaggerated his endowments.

On the 23d of Rabia II., after the sitting of the diván, the ketkhodá of the household troops, Abdullah Aghá, was deputed by his majesty to wait on Ibrahím and receive back the seals from him, and to present them to Khádum Hasan Páshá. Ibrahim Páshá went to live in his own garden, near the new emporium at Uskudár.

Khádum Hasan Páshá, in consequence of his splendid gifts and presents to the queen-mother, and of his many promises of rendering service to the state, was, raised, in the course of that passing week, to the dignity of grand vezír. This man, as might easily have been anticipated, was attentive to nothing but his own aggrandizement, and how to increase his own wealth. During the whole time he continued in office, he sold places, received immense bribes, and amassed vast riches. When any one asked him for a situation he used to say: "Do you know to whom I shall give

the presents you have sent me ?" and other similar impertinent questions. This exalted personage, however, soon fell under the execrations of the people, and became every day more and more hated and despised, but yet no one was able to oppose him.

One day, when his majesty went to St. Sophia, to offer up his devotions in that temple, some desperate fellows approached him and requested permission to slay his minister. His majesty, thinking it was out of mere ill-will they had so petitioned him, did not give his consent, and they immediately desisted from their purpose. The emperor, however, mentioned the circumstance to his mother, who let Ghaznafer Aghá into the secret, and with him she concerted the overthrow of the prime minister. He maintained that Hasan Páshá not only openly received bribes, but that he had also cut off the supplies of the queen-mother ; that he had published complaints against her among all ranks of the community, and thus made her the subject of conversation ; that by these and similar means he sought to rouse her servants to rebellion, and herself to be removed to a distance from the court, in order that he might obtain absolute power. All this representation, or rather accusation, was confirmed by the ághá of the Janissaries, Ternakí Hasan. The emperor issued orders to investigate into the fact. But those who were appointed to do this returned a verdict similar to the above statement of accusation, or at least confirmatory of it.

In the meantime the reverend mufti, Bostání Zádeh, died, when Hasan Páshá conferred the duty of expounding the law on the poet Báki Effendí, in conjunction with Karah Chelebí Zádeh. But the emperor not approving of his choice, appointed Khoja Sa'd-ud-dín Effendí, with a part of whose history we are already acquainted, and whom we saw lately condemned to live the life of a hermit, to be mufti in room of Bostání Zádeh. Notwithstanding this, however, Hasan Páshá wrote three times officially on this subject to Báki Effendí, and tried what he could to prevent Sa'd-ud-dín succeeding to the muftiship ; a circumstance which awakened old but buried animosity and unpleasant correspondence between the old prelate and the grand vezír. The conduct of the latter roused the emperor's anger, and without further delay he installed the old reverend prelate into the office of mufti.

Khoja Effendí (*i. e.* Sa'd-ud-dín), the new mufti, Ghaznafer Aghá, and Ternakjí Aghá, all three joined in accusing Hasan Páshá. They represented his conduct with regard to the queen-mother, and the other enormities of his life, in such a clear light before the emperor, as showed him to be worthy of death. He was accordingly seized on the 2d of Ramazan, conveyed on board a vessel, and was conducted to the Seven Towers by Ferhád Aghá, the chief of the Bostánjís, and in five or six days afterwards he was strangled during the night. The ághá of the Janissaries, Ternakjí Hasan Aghá, sealed the doors of his palace, and transferred the whole of his property to the imperial coffers; but it did not amount to what was anticipated.

*Jeráh Mohammed Páshá raised to the premiership.*

The grand vezírship having again become vacant, there was some disposition shown to recall Ibrahim Páshá to that important office; but by the dexterity of the reverend prelate, his old enemy, this was thwarted, and Jeráh Mohammed Páshá was appointed to fill that high station.

*The enemy gains advantage at Yanuk by stratagem.*

The city and fortress of Yanuk about this time was put under the government of Mahmúd Páshá, who had formerly been ághá of the Janissaries, and subsequently beglerbeg of Fajir. The enemy permitted no grain of any kind to be brought or conveyed to Yanuk, but in order to corrupt and pervert the inhabitants, as well as the troops who were in it, they permitted great quantities of wine to be carried thither both in boats and waggons. In consequence of this traffic in wine, the people of Yanuk acquired the habit of drinking, and so very relax did they become, that their ramparts and gates were no longer watched with that care and vigilance which was the case before wine was introduced amongst them. Regardless alike of the Páshá's warnings as of every other advice, they vainly confided in the natural and artificial strength of the place, and were no longer the active vigilant men they used to be.

The beglerbeg of Yanuk was in the habit of receiving from the sanjak of Petcheví an annual quantity of grain, amounting to two or three hundred waggons, but which, when returning, were frequently intercepted by the



enemy, who on all such occasions carried off the oxen. In this way above five or six thousand of these animals had been stolen at various times, and driven away into the enemy's dominions. This great loss the people of the sanjak of Petcheví were obliged to sustain: but other districts fared worse, and had not even so much as one left them. In fact, some of the peasants were under the necessity of ploughing their lands by their own strength and that of their wives.

About the commencement of the month of Ramazan this year, the enemy committed great cruelty and excess. They attacked several hundreds of waggons which were carrying provisions to Yanuk and Agria. The escort of cavalry which accompanied these waggons, on seeing the enemy, fled, leaving the poor drivers to shift for themselves. The number of these amounted to about three hundred, who were either killed or made prisoners. Between one and two thousand oxen and waggons were carried off by the enemy.

The two thousand regular troops, and the two thousand Kúl-oghláns, which had been left to garrison Yanuk, had most of their families in the districts of Petcheví, Koban, and Alba Julia, and were therefore strongly inclined on this account to abandon Yanuk altogether. The fortress of Tata, which the year before had been demolished, and its inhabitants destroyed, was allowed to remain in its state of ruin and dilapidation.

The people of Yanuk appeared to be bound over by some spell or infatuation not easily accounted for, if we except their propensity for wine, which brought its own punishment. A swine of the name of Palghi, kapúdán of Komran, sent some thousands of his foot soldiers to surround Yanuk, whilst he himself with a thousand or two of cavalry made his way towards its gate. The inhabitants and garrison were in a profound state of inactivity and carelessness, and knew nothing of the enemy's approach. The gate was barricaded only with a single bar of fir wood, and their draw-bridge was not let down. Some few of these apostate infidels who came to attack the place approached about midnight to the gate, and feigned an alarm. The centinel, a boy, awaking from his sleep, asked, "Who's there?" They replied: "We are come from Petcheví with provisions, were very

near meeting the enemy, and have with much difficulty escaped to this place. They are still in hard pursuit of us, and will soon have us in their power, unless you open your gate and let us in. Open then the gate, and let in the waggons loaded with provisions." As this conversation with the watch ended, the rest came forward with their wooden mortars and placed them in front of the gate, whilst the boy said he would run and inform the kapúji, and did so. The treacherous enemy lost no time, for the centinel was scarcely gone when they attacked the gate, splintered it to pieces, and rushed in on the devoted people: some were lying drunk, some asleep, and all in a state of total negligence and unconcern. Now the work of destruction commenced. The troops in it saw when it was too late their danger, but the sight of the enemy only roused them to madness. They fought with the most desperate fury, and perished in the conflict. Thus did Yanuk fall into the hands of the execrated enemy. The stratagem succeeded.

It has been said that the commander of the Janissaries of Yanuk was brought alive, but in a state of drunkenness, before the above-mentioned impious Palghi, kapúdán of Komran, and that ten or fifteen thousand pieces of gold were found in his possession. After interrogating him, the story goes on to say, as to what he meant to do with such a quantity of money, and asking him why he had not laid it out on the garrison, or if he thought that his money would watch the fortress, the commander caused his head to be cut off and fixed upon a pole. The same account also states that, notwithstanding the general carnage, five or six Muselmans made their escape to Buda; the rest were totally annihilated. The beglerbeg of Buda sent a report of this disastrous affair to the commander-in-chief, which reached him on the 29th of Shabán.

The wooden mortars or guns above alluded to were something in the form of a cannon—large mortars made of bronze, and surrounded by five or six iron rings on the outside. Each mortar had two ears of the same metal with itself, and the whole piece or apparatus was placed in a wooden frame or case about as large as a small mat or carpet (about the size of a hearth-rug) and four or five fingers thick, and in which these ears were fixed. The point of the mortar was seen outside of the frame, and when it was

charged with powder a circular plate was firmly fixed to its mouth by ropes or straps. These mortars were placed on two-wheeled carriages, which were provided with a long rod or pole behind them to prevent the wheels or carriage, when the mortars were discharged, from diverging from the proper line. Such were the instruments employed on the above occasion.

*The Moslems determine on attacking Warad.*

When the winter season was nearly over, and the approach of spring at hand, Sátúrjí Mohammed Páshá, who had taken up his winter quarters in Belgrade, and still retained the office of commander-in-chief, though in the last campaign he had accomplished nothing of importance, but permitted Yanuk to fall, and who seemed pleased with the apology which the Tátár khán thought proper to offer for his negligence, determined on renewing hostilities as soon as the season should permit. Accordingly every preparation necessary for the undertaking was seen to, and his camp was soon pitched in the plains of Belgrade. A great quantity of money and of troops on this occasion ordered to be sent to him.

In a council held at Constantinople it was declared, by persons well acquainted with the state and condition of the frontiers, that the fortresses of Lipa, Yanwa, Warad, and Jena, in the jurisdiction of Temiswar, had been seized on by the enemy, and that if active measures were not timely adopted, Temiswar would most assuredly be wrested also from the Moslem grasp.

Whilst the council was employed in consulting about these matters, official documents were received from the commander-in-chief, which confirmed the statements before made. It was the opinion of the grand vezír, Jeráh Mohammed Páshá, that as the enemy was in possession of the districts about Yanuk and Osterghún, the commander-in-chief should direct his movements against the Transylvanians, who had, as before observed, invaded the jurisdiction of Temiswar. As the frontier fortresses in that quarter were all well furnished with men and provisions, he observed, it seemed most prudent on this account to make Transylvania the scene of the war. They all agreed that unless the Transylvanians were thoroughly

chastised, it would be impossible to keep Valachia and Moldavia in a state of subjection. The royal mandate for commencing this war was issued and sent to the commander-in-chief, accompanied by a robe of honour. At the same time letters, and also money, according to ancient custom, were sent to the khán of the Tátárs, desiring him to assist the serdár with a Tátár army. The feudal tenantry in Turkey who held superiorities sold them, received double wages, and took their dependants. Five hundred yúks of money from the imperial coffers were sent along with the camp, and the above tenantry for the serdár. They departed from Constantinople for Belgrade in the beginning of Shabán, which happened to be his majesty's birth-day. The camp of the serdár was erected on a hill called Khúnkár, in the plains of the last-mentioned city, on the 12th of Ramazán. On the 23rd of Shevál Váli Páshá, the beglerbeg of Romeili, who had wintered at Uskúb, joined the commander-in-chief's camp at the above place. On the 14th of Dhu'l kada the serdár himself joined his army; and, after having had information as to the certainty of the Tátár khan's approach, sent off couriers to the different cazis along the Danube, ordering them to have provisions in readiness.

After it had been fully resolved on to carry the war into Transylvania, a bridge was commenced on the 9th of Dhu'l hijja at a place or promontory on the Danube called *Táshluk Búrun*, somewhere below Belgrade, and which was completed in eighteen days, though it extended 1,850 cubits in length.

On the day the army began to cross over into the country of Transylvania the serdár received certain information that the Tátár khán with his army had reached Rusjuk. The provincial troops of Caramania and Meræsh, with their respective chiefs, who had been sent to garrison Buda, passed through the plains of Belgrade and followed the grand army into Transylvania. Towards the end of Dhu'l hijja the Moslem serdár or commander-in-chief joined his army, which halted in the plains of Petcheva; but we must defer relating the history of this war till we review the events of the following year.

*State of affairs in Bassra.*

It was during this year that the hidden natural corruption and depravity of Seyid Mobárek manifested itself, and when thousands of detestable and wicked wretches joined in the rebellion which he was the means of exciting in the jurisdiction of Bassra, who committed every sort of devastation in the cities, towns, and villages throughout the provinces of Bassra and Lahsa, killing, destroying, and plundering where they were able. The government of Baghdád having been conferred on the celebrated vezir, Hasan Páshá, about the commencement of Ramazán, he was also appointed commander-in-chief over all the forces in Baghdád, Sheherzúl, and in all the places appertaining to them.

Some time before this appointment took place, however, the inhabitants, when they first became aware of the cruelties practised by these rebels, sent an embassy to the Sháh of Persia, beseeching him to send them succour to enable them to resist the encroachments of the rebels. Their request was complied with: he sent them three hundred Kuzil-báshes under the command of three leaders, but who in fact became more terrible oppressors than the faction had been whom they came to repel. The cure was worse than the disease. A representation of this circumstance was communicated to the court of Constantinople, who about the end of Dhu'l hijja wrote expressly, and in the most peremptory manner, to the sháh in reference to these matters.

Among the appointments to office which took place when Jeráh entered on the premiership, the following may be mentioned. Jeghala Záh Sinán Páshá was created kapúdán or lord high admiral; and Khezzr Páshá, from among the vezirs, was honoured with the government of Egypt. It belongs to this period to mention, also, that in consequence of the beglerbeg of Caramania having been employed with his provincial troops in the Hungarian wars, the country was in a great measure left naked and without protection. About three thousand insurgents took advantage of this, and collected together in the absence of the governor and his troops; and committed the most horrid excesses; but the inhabitants uniting together opposed them and slew the greater part of these reptiles.

But of all the remarkable events which had taken place during this



period, the following is the most astonishing. It has been recorded by the pen of some one in a collection of facts, that on Friday the 18th of Rabia II., about mid-day, the lady of Bekerbeg, the beglerbeg of Shám Sherif (the noble city of Damascus), a woman of high rank, called Ayesha, the daughter of a respectable officer in the army, was delivered, after only three months pregnancy, of two male children, and shortly after she brought forth twelve more, fully formed, but not living, female children; in all two males and twelve females. Such a phenomenon as this was is certainly not beyond the range of possibility; but physicians denominate such occurrence *an error in nature*.

#### EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1007, H.

*Account of the late expedition continued from last year.*

We have already, in a former section, noticed the purport of this expedition, and left the grand army encamped in the plains of Petcheva. On the 25th of Dhu'l hijja of that year they reached Betchgarak, where they halted for some time.

About the middle of the thousand and seventh Moharrem (*i. e.* about the middle of the month Moharrem, 1007 of the Hijrah), Váli Páshá, beglerbeg of Romeili, died; and Mohammed Páshá, beglerbeg of Anatolia, who had been stationed at Usk, was appointed to succeed him, and immediately joined the grand army. Mohammed Páshá was succeeded at Usk by Súfi Sinán Páshá, beglerbeg of Agria; and he again was succeeded by Bektásh Páshá, governor of Solnuk.

At Betchgarak, a place rendered sacred by the death of the late beglerbeg of Romeili, the army remained full fifty-five days waiting for the arrival of the Tátár khán and his subsidiary troops.

During the stay of the grand army at this place, it happened that messengers arrived from Buda who informed the commander-in-chief that the fortress of Tata had been taken by the enemy, and immediately after this other messengers brought him intelligence from Alba Julia that Pulata was besieged. Without loss of time, therefore, and in the utmost haste, he issued orders to the troops of Semendria to march to Buda and strengthen that garrison.

In the meantime, information reached the Moslem camp that Ghází Gherái Khán, with his Tátár troops had arrived in the neighbourhood; and on the 26th of Moharrem the khán joined the royal army with forty-five thousand men. The Moslem serdár, on his approach, went out with great pomp and shew, to meet his royal highness, and to perform the honours due to him, and which were usual on such occasions; he also prepared a splendid entertainment for him and his suite. The royal khán, in his turn, made a suitable acknowledgment to the serdár and to the other magnates of the Moslem camp. After the entertainment was over, the serdár conducted his royal highness to his pavilion, and returned to his own. He caused, however, another tent to be erected for the khán near his own, and one for his females; and provided them with every thing necessary for their accommodation and comfort. To each of one hundred of the khán's mirzás a robe of honour was given: but to the royal auxiliary himself a splendid robe, an embroidered coat, two Agria horses, and a saddle and bridle richly ornamented with gold and precious gems were presented.

On the 27th, the commander-in-chief or serdár, the princes and commanders of regiments went to pay their respects to his royal highness, when a royal mandate which had been received from Constantinople was read in the presence of these august personages. After the mandate was read, the khán, the serdár, and the other dignitaries present, stood up, offered up a prayer, and then immediately entered into consultation as to the best means for accomplishing the object of the expedition. The question as to the route they should take formed one of the topics which occupied their minds on this important occasion. After a good deal of conversation on this subject, the chiefs of the borders observed, that there were three roads which penetrated Transylvania. The first led to the fortress of Lipovah; the second, to Sibish and Loghúsh; and the third, to Warad. His royal highness Ghází Gherái observed, it would be most proper to go by the one which could be shown to be the most eligible for the transporting of cannon and heavy baggage, and on which they could most easily defend themselves in the event of being attacked. One of the most distinguished of the border leaders replied by saying: "Sire, the roads of Sibish and Loghúsh, and of Lipovah, are both difficult and dangerous, and afford no means of de-

fence against the enemy should they be disposed to attack us. The road leading to Warad, on the contrary, is broad and open, and on this account, as well as others, it is the most preferable one: besides, it is the only one of the three in which we can most efficiently as well as conveniently, accomplish our object—the chastising of the Transylvanians.” “But,” said the khán, “will the infidels of Warad not endeavour to intercept or ensnare us? In the event of their attempting any of these expedients, is there no danger, and shall we not be obliged to relinquish our object? In the event of our succeeding in reducing it, can we keep possession of it after we have taken it?” He asked further, whether the reduction of the place would likely occupy much time. With the view of doing honour to the prowess of the serdár, it was replied, though falsely, that two or three pieces of ordnance were quite sufficient for the purpose of accomplishing the reduction of Warad; and that, afterwards, they could advance against Zighmund (probably the prince of Transylvania). This representation weighed with the council. Etmekjí Zádeh, the defterdár of the expedition, attended to every thing necessary for the attempt, and provided the army with apparatus for occupying the fortress.

In consequence, however, of the great length of time which had elapsed, since leaving Belgrade, including the fifty-five days they had to wait for the khán, the half of the season for carrying on hostilities was past, but still they were determined to do what they could. About the middle of the month Sefer, one Yúghen, an ághá of Temiswar, and one who was well acquainted with the roads, was appointed to conduct the Moslem army to Warad. They reached a fortress on the river Murish, called Jenad, before which they sat down and prepared for laying siege to it. After the firing of a few guns, however, its inhabitants and garrison became dismayed, abandoned it, and fled to the mountains and thickets adjacent. This fortress, of course, was immediately taken possession of, whilst the Tátár troops pursued the fugitives; killed some, and took most of the rest prisoners. One hundred and fifty of these vile wretches were brought to the door of the serdár's tent, and there beheaded. Jenad was put under the jurisdiction of prince Ibrahim Shikshái, inspector of Belgrade.

From Jenad the army marched to a palanka called Dilagúsh, and thence

proceeded to Arad, of which, finding it deserted by its inhabitants, they took possession.

Shortly after this, messengers arrived from the prince of Transylvania with letters to his highness, the khán of the Tátárs, requesting conditions of peace, or rather requesting the khán to intercede with the Ottoman emperor and endeavour to bring about a peace. About the same time also a great quantity of rain fell, which exceedingly annoyed the Moslem troops.

On the 9th of Sefer Mustafa Páshá, the beglerbeg of Erzerúm, joined the grand army with his provincials. On the 11th, the whole army crossed the Murish, but experienced the greatest difficulty in doing so. They marched along its banks for several stages, and stopped at a bridge near a deserted palanka, called Ordúbek. At length, after experiencing a thousand hardships in crossing rivers and passing through extensive marshes, they arrived in the plains of Warad on the 24th of the month, where they were joined by the beglerbeg of Wán, Yúsuf Páshá having previously been joined, whilst at Ordúbek, by the army of Gula. Two badlooshkas also, the one from Gula and the other from Temiswar, were sent to them. The Tátár khán, on the army's leaving Jenad, took a different route with the intention of distressing and annoying the peasantry throughout the country, and joined the grand army again at Warad.

The fortress of Warad, before which the Moslem army took up its position on the 29th, was situate on the boundaries which separate Germany and Transylvania, was very strong, and surrounded by suburbs and villages. So very large and extensive a place was Warad that it could easily contain twenty thousand troops. Its gardens reached from the suburbs to Pest, and its country houses and other dwellings were no less extensive in number, it is conjectured, than the number which at that time were between Constantinople and the gardens of Dávud Páshá. It is impossible to describe accurately the whole of the gardens and orchards, and the multitude of the inhabitants of Warad. Some one or two years before the period we are now speaking of, a German army of several thousands took possession of it, and had it in subjection when the orthodox army, under the grand vezír and commander-in-chief Jeráh Mohammed Páshá, appeared before it. The suburbs and villages were inhabited by Hungarians.

*Warad besieged.*

When the Tátár troops advanced to attack the suburbs of Warad, the inhabitants came boldly forth, and for a whole day and night fought with courage. But the Tátárs no sooner succeeded in setting fire to their dwellings than they retired, put their families into waggons, and tried to escape through their postern gates. The Tátárs pursued them with vigour, slew the grown-up, made the young prisoners, and returned with immense booty.

Immediately after these things, the khán of the Tátárs, and the serdár of the Moslems, and other great men in the army formed themselves into a council of war, and took into consideration whether they should proceed onwards and desolate the country, or stop where they then were and endeavour to vanquish the fortress of Warad. The whole council were unanimous in thinking the latter plan the most advisable. So important and so strong a place, and so very near the frontiers of the Ottoman dominions, and which at once formed a key to Germany and Transylvania, they unanimously considered ought not to be allowed to remain in the hands of the enemy, and they therefore determined at once on reducing it.

On the first of Rabia II., therefore, the army entered the suburbs, the houses of which were well-built and handsome, and instead of preparing themselves trenches, took possession of them. With the three pieces of ordnance which they had brought along with them, they began battering the fortress; but they found, when it was too late to rectify their mistake, they had commenced a work far beyond their strength, and one which they had not maturely considered. They discovered their rashness, but not in sufficient time to correct their mistake. The object of the expedition into the country, at the commencement of their operations, was to lay it waste, and therefore they did not encumber themselves with many cannon, that they might the more conveniently traverse the territories of Transylvania, and thoroughly chastise the inhabitants. They had no more cannon, therefore, than the three now mentioned: neither were they provided with any apparatus for carrying on a siege. This want they now began to feel when it could not be easily and speedily remedied; and to



subdue a place of such great strength as Warad possessed, would require, they saw, an immense length of time. The serdár was most sensibly touched when he discovered his error, and was seriously affected by the mistake he had committed. He now began, though too late, to reflect, that this same fortress, in former days, had withstood, for the space of forty-five days, the utmost efforts of one of the earlier kings, without being vanquished. Seeing he had no chance of succeeding without a sufficient number of cannon, he wrote to Súfi Sinán Páshá, beglerbeg of Agria, to join his camp, and to forward without delay ten pieces of ordnance and other apparatus from the fortress of Agria. In consequence of remissness or fraud, however, this order was not complied with; or if complied with, was too late to be of any use to the besiegers. All the powder and ball which could be found in Gula and in the palankas round about, were expended without making any impression on Warad. Two mines were also sprung, but with no better effect.

The Tátárs, at this time, requested permission to range the country, and commit what devastation they could, but the serdár refused to give his consent; saying, he hoped to God they would yet take Warad, and they would afterwards proceed together. It happened also, in the mysterious providence of God, that for the space of forty days it rained successively, and the rain which thus fell ran, in torrents through the plains and valleys. The ground every where round Warad became soft, and in several places marshes were formed. The ditches which the Janissaries had prepared were all filled with water and clay, and the Janissaries themselves were forced to retire to their tents. The whole of the army in these adverse circumstances became completely discouraged, particularly the officers. The stream which issued from the city swelled to such a degree as to become unpassable. In fact, it was at last impracticable to go from one tent to another. The winds also rose so awfully high as to tear away the very poles of the tents out of the ground, and the cattle sunk to their bellies in the mud. The troops also were for several days without meat, but this want was supplied by a great number of sheep which had been driven to the plains of Warad. The most of these sheep were sent thither by the

peasants of Solnuk, and nearly filled the whole country round Warad. The cursed prince of Transylvania, they were also informed, had secured himself in inaccessible mountains.

The Moslem army were thus exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, and to every possible hardship, and distressed and annoyed by the water which ran in torrents through their camp. In short, all this accumulation of adverse circumstances completely overcame the spirit of the Moslem troops: they became totally heartless, and could do nothing. In the midst of all these indescribable distresses they were informed by messengers from Buda that no fewer than 80,000 of the enemy had attacked and destroyed Old Buda, and that at that very moment their large cannon were employed in battering Buda itself. They added, that if immediate aid were not afforded, Buda could not fail to fall into the enemy's hands. They had heard at an earlier period of the same day on which this news was brought them, that a heavy body of the enemy had passed through Yanuk and Waj, and had gone to Old Buda. The persons who brought the above intelligence maintained it was of no use to send one or two thousand men; it was absolutely necessary, they said, that the serdár should go in person with his whole army.

These sad and unwelcome messengers astonished and confounded the afflicted serdár and his suffering army, by the intelligence they brought him. But his misfortunes were only increasing. The very adverse circumstances in which the Moslem army were placed, and the advance of the enemy against Buda, afforded a favourable opportunity to the treacherous Michael, of cursed memory, to cross the Danube, to attack the vezír Háfiz in Nicopolis, causing him to seek his safety in flight; and to commit the most dreadful depredations. This information became no sooner public, and its truth confirmed, than it increased, of course, the embarrassments of Satúrjî Mohammed Páshá, the commander-in-chief. But they had still to increase: Tata, Besperim, and Papa also fell into the hands of the hateful infidel enemy. These things were more than sufficient to confound all judgment. They were awful, terrible, and afflictive beyond expression: nevertheless, the serdár still bore up under all the misfortunes of the campaign. He determined, notwithstanding his perilous condition, to afford what aid he

could to the quarter above mentioned. Yet in a council afterwards held, and in which the khán and the other magnates of the army were consulted, the difficulty of sending foot soldiers became quite apparent. Not only the distance but the difficulty which such troops would have to encounter in crossing rivers like seas, the Danube, and the Tise (Tibiscus), was clearly discerned to be beyond the power of any but horsemen to accomplish. It was therefore agreed that a party of some thousands of the Tátár rangers should be despatched without any further delay as far as Pest, where they were to spread a report that the khán and the serdár would soon appear with their respective troops, and afford them effectual aid. This measure, it was conjectured, would have the effect of strengthening such as had not fallen into the hands of their enemy, and of discouraging, if possible, the latter. The Tátár detachment proceeded.

In the meantime, the commander-in-chief was still looking in vain for the arrival of the cannon from Agria. But, alas! he was disappointed. Súfi Sinán Páshá arrived in the camp empty-handed. On being interrogated why he did not send the ten pieces of cannon as commanded, he returned for answer the senseless excuse, that no buffaloes could be had to transport them. It can easily be imagined what was the grief and affliction of the Moslem army, but it cannot be described. The whole of the provisions which they had been able to find in the vicinity of Warad was consumed, and the Tátárs were obliged to bring from a great distance to the camp what flour or grain they were able to find. A keil (measure) of barley was sold from three to five pieces of gold.

The serdár, it must be acknowledged, was the cause of the long delay of the Moslem army before Warad, and of course, at least in some degree, of the evils to which they had been subjected. We have already observed how he refused to allow the Tátárs to go on a predatory excursion through the country, saying he hoped God would give him the victory in a day or two. He was miserably mistaken in his hopes, and accomplished nothing; at least nothing good, as we have seen. The weather now became so very cold that the men could keep neither hands nor feet warm. Perceiving, therefore, that Warad was not to be subdued by the means which he possessed, and as he had caused it to be reported about Pest that he had raised

the siege and had gone to Solnuk with the view of succouring Buda, the serdár began to retreat. In consequence, however, of the rivulets every where having swollen into rivers from the late rains, the páshá of Temiswar, Ismael Páshá, was instructed to advance and erect bridges for the army; but he did not erect even one; the army had therefore, in consequence of this neglect, to do the best they could. They crossed no fewer than twelve rivers, three of which, however, had bridges over them, of the above description, by means of rafts, and underwent immense difficulty and danger at every one which they crossed. Numberless poor animals perished in these waters, and the troops suffered most severely from the cold. The flour which they carried along with them was spoiled and caused disease among the men, and they were therefore obliged to throw it away. Their three pieces of ordnance they succeeded in getting across these rivers by means of strong ropes, and Khoja Murád Páshá, who was beglerbeg of Diárbeker, Mohammed Páshá, beglerbeg of Haleb, and Súfi Sinán Páshá, in order to encourage the troops, put their own necks into yokes, and helped to drag them onwards. The distance between Warad and Gula was about three days' journey, but required twelve days on this occasion to accomplish it, during the whole of which time they suffered a thousand difficulties. Hundreds of men were left on the road by reason of the cold or hunger, or sunk into the mud.

The army was met by Iskander Beg, who was afterwards created páshá, and the ketkhodá of Teryáki, Hasan Páshá, in the plains of Gula, who confirmed the intelligence they formerly had received that Besperim, Polata, and Tata had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and earnestly requested the serdár to send off, as soon as possible, what succours he was able to the aid of those places which had been enabled still to hold out. The serdár gave him fine promises and sent him away next morning.

The army moved from Gula (Julia) to Solnuk. At both these places they were obliged to pay a piece of gold for a loaf of bread. They expected that at the latter place, where they halted a whole day, boats with provisions would have been waiting for them; but in this also they were grievously disappointed. When the troops saw that no boats with provisions had arrived by the river Tise (Tibiscus), they were roused into rage and

commenced a tumult. Some of the Janissaries rushed upon the serdár's tent and pulled it down about his head. Each of them had taken a piece of wood in his hand, with which they so belaboured the poor commander-in-chief that he lay half murdered. They broke his skull with their bludgeons and his arm with a stone, and afterwards commenced the work of spoliation in his kitchen. It is certain that if some of the other officers had not come to his assistance, they would have cut him to pieces. The tent of the treasurer, Etmekji Zâdeh, shared the same fate: it was not only thrown down but robbed, and he himself only escaped with his life, which was entirely owing to the intervention of some of their superiors. They now abandoned the idea of proceeding to Buda. Towards evening the serdár was seen stepping round the tents, and seemed as if afraid and ashamed to enter his own.

In consequence of all these disastrous events and distressing circumstances, the strong fortress of Buda was committed to God, and the Moslem army marched towards Segdin. Here they fortunately fell in with a number of boats loaded with provisions on the Tise, when a distribution of provisions immediately took place, which refreshed and recruited the much-weakened strength of the army, at least in some degree.

The accounts of the burning and destroying of the city or suburbs of Buda, and all the evils which befel its inhabitants, must be reserved to a future chapter. In the mean time, however, the unfortunate serdár, pressed down and grieved with the misfortunes which had befallen his orthodox army, became quite changed in his constitution. His soul was vexed within him: his body became poor and lean; and in this broken-down condition he retired to Belgrade. His royal highness, the khán of the Crimea, went to Sonbúr, and his troops went into winter-quarters in the sanjak of Segdin. The beglerbeg of Romeili was sent with his provincials to the sanjak of Pechevi. The Janissaries and other troops, after having been paid their arrears, were also sent into winter quarters. The money necessary for paying these arrears had to be borrowed from the rich men and merchants of Belgrade.

These arrangements were no sooner over than a very heavy fall of snow fell, and a most intense cold commenced.

Thus ended this unfortunate campaign. No advantage was gained, but much loss was sustained.



*Concerning the fall of Besperim, Polata, Tata, and the siege of Buda.*

At the time it was first determined to carry the war into Transylvania, the five thousand cavalry and the twelve thousand foot soldiers, sent last year from Europe to Maximilian, the commander-in-chief of the infidels, and an army of more than sixty thousand foot and horse soldiers, composed of Germans, Hungarians, and other nations, under Maximilian's brother, the arch-duke Mathias, assembled near Yanuk, and resolved on aiding and supporting the prince of Transylvania. When the Moslem serdár, however, laid siege to Warad, as before mentioned, the prince of Transylvania retired to the mountains, and there fortified himself among inaccessible rocks. On this account the imperial troops were not so necessary, at least such a powerful augmentation as that above alluded to; therefore when the enemy perceived that Buda was left in a defenceless state in consequence of the expedition which had entered Transylvania, they immediately marched against that place. This was the most proper time, said they to themselves, to endeavour to take Buda; and though they should not happen to be successful in the attempt, yet they would at least effect a manœuvre in favour of Warad, and thus save it from the grasp of the Moslems, who had now commenced laying siege to it.

These mighty hosts of the enemy on their way to Buda reduced the fortresses of Besperim, Polata, Papa, and Tata, all of them places of strength which belonged to the Ottoman empire; and in Rabia II. they encamped before Old Buda with more than forty pieces of ordnance and other apparatus of war. The greater number of the enemy's troops was transported thence in boats on the Danube to Buda itself, to which they laid siege in this same month. After a few days of hostile operation they laid the walls of the city even with the ground. When they had accomplished this they commenced attacking the citadel both from the land and water at the same time. On the seventh day of the siege the bloody contest was renewed at sun-rise, and continued till the going down of the same. The beglerbeg of Mercesh, Sinán Páshá, and the ex-beglerbeg of Papa, Semender Páshá, who had come from Alba Julia to aid the Budians; these two heroes from among the besieged died martyrs on this day of unpa-

ralleled cruelty and blood. Teryáki Hasan Páshá, governor of Bosnia, and Mohammed Beg, beg of Semendria, were wounded; and many others whose days were numbered fell by the hands of these infidels.

This numerous host of vile idolators continued their attacks unremittingly, and maintained a continual brisk fire, which so completely annoyed the besieged that they found themselves necessitated to give way and retire from the city, and seek shelter in the inner fortress. This movement they accomplished during the night season, but by doing so they left the city entirely naked and defenceless. The following morning the infidels occupied the vacant city, and with all imaginable speed erected their forty pieces of heavy ordnance on batteries against the inner fortress, and commenced directing more than one thousand shots per day against it, besides the springing of numerous mines. Night and day this machinery was employed without interruption, and every other effort they could devise, in trying to reduce the inner fortress. The besieged, however, held out manfully. The place had been previously strengthened and put in a condition of defence; but they sent off one messenger after another with letters to the serdár and to the khán, when lying before Warad, calling on them to come to their aid; and assuring them if they did not come, Buda would fall a prey to the enemy. But the serdár was unable to afford them the relief they required. With part of their forces they lay before Warad, and the rest had scattered themselves through the country. However, the khán sent them a chosen body of about seven thousand Tátárs under the command of Shubá Mirza. These were soon followed by Bektásh Páshá, governor of Agria, with his Agrian troops; and these again by two Tátár sultáns, with twenty thousand Tátár troops, which his royal highness had succeeded in collecting for the same purpose. Kalghái Selámèt Gherái, the brother of the khán, who had just at that time returned from a plundering excursion, was likewise sent forward to Buda with the party under his command, and which amounted to several thousands. The beglerbeg of Buda, Michaeljeli Ahmed Páshá, succeeded to the beglerbegship of Sinán Páshá, who perished in the siege of the city as before observed; and Soleimán Páshá, the beglerbeg of Temisvár, who was at that time in the Moslem camp along with the serdár, succeeded to the beglerbegship of

Buda. This last, and a few hundred chosen veterans, besides seven Sanjak begs, set out for Buda, which, by the time they had reached it, had been forty days exposed to the efforts of the infidels. It was the opinion of the acting commander-in-chief in Buda, Ahmed Páshá, that it would be impossible for them to maintain Buda, and, at the same time, protect Pest; he recommended, therefore, that the garrison and people in Pest should join the besieged in Buda.

Whilst this imprudent project was in contemplation, the beg of Solnuk, commonly called the *Earless* Osmán Beg, a chief who had formerly manifested a variety of heroic deeds at Timúr-kapú, reached Buda with a valiant band of borderers from Solnuk in sufficient time to frustrate the proposed project. Taking some of the men of Pest along with him, he hastened towards Buda; forwarded a number of cannon; the other troops formerly mentioned joined him: and, on his appearing with this accumulated army before the citadel of Buda, the troops within it were encouraged to come forth and receive their deliverers. All these together formed a very considerable army, and were now in a condition to cope with their enemies. Accordingly they were not long in employing the force they had thus mustered, and with one consent attacked their bitter foe with such vigour and resolution that they soon forced them to raise the siege and to retire. Before they were expelled the city, however, they burned and destroyed its temples and mosques, large buildings, and public streets; and then withdrew to the valley of Waj.

Thus, God Almighty saved the fortress of Buda from the hand of malice and injustice.

*Khádem Háfiz Ahmed Páshá routed at Nicopolis by the odious Michael.*

Háfiz Ahmed Páshá having been appointed to guard the banks of the Danube, made Widin his head-quarters. Ramazán Zádeh, the governor of Adna, who had been appointed along with him to the same service, removed from Widin in Rabia II. of this same year, and went along with a number of Sanjak begs towards Rusjuk and Selistria, places within the jurisdiction allotted to them, but stopped at a place not far from Nicopolis, called the plains of Sinadin.

When the odious and hateful Michael had learned that an expedition had been sent into Transylvania, he feigned to have repented of all his wicked deeds, and retired from public view. But he no sooner heard of the fate of that expedition than he again began to exercise his cunning to the prejudice of the Osmánlis. Accordingly, he sent a messenger, a despicable wretch called Dimoo, to crave in the most humble and abject manner conditions of peace from Háfiz Páshá. The deceitful messenger had no sooner found access to the Páshá, and told the purport of his errand, than he granted permission to the odious wretch Michael to come and prostrate himself before him.

On that same day, the Páshá was employed in fitting up and adorning his tents on the banks of the Danube, but ordered a boat to be held in readiness for conveying Michael across when he arrived. Soon after the deception had thus far succeeded, a number of waggons covered over with scarlet cloth appeared at some little distance from the Páshá's camp, which the fraudulent messenger when interrogated concerning them said were waggons conveying presents and treasures to the Páshá.

Whilst the Páshá and his men stood contemplating the loaded waggons as they approached nearer, and suspecting no danger, suddenly a body of troops made their appearance, and fell upon the astonished gazers without allowing them a moment's warning for self-defence. These were Michael's troops, and they amounted to more than twenty thousand, whilst those under the command of Háfiz did not exceed three thousand, and most of them, at that moment, were without any sort of defensive weapon whatever. The waggons which were said to have been conveying treasures and presents to the Páshá, turned out to be cannon which they carried. The Moslems finding themselves thus miserably duped, and seeing they were unable to resist such a force, had no alternative left them but either to perish by the hands of these barbarians, or to seek their safety in flight. This last appeared the most advisable, and they endeavoured to accomplish it. The Páshá, in a state of madness, mounted his horse, and all who were fortunate enough escaped to Maternevi. Alas, many of the followers of Mohammed fell martyrs on that sad day. The whole of their property and wealth fell into the hands of Michael the apostate, and of those wretches who followed him.

The odious Michael, after having gained the advantage in the manner above described, marched on Nicopolis, and laid siege to it; but he was at length repelled. The struggle between the besiegers and the besieged lasted twenty days, but the barbarians were at last obliged to retire without having effected their purpose, and went towards Bekrish.

The unfortunate Páshá, like the rest of his men, lost all he had. It has been said that some of Michael's men brought him the garments and shash which Háfiz usually wore, and that in derision of the Páshá he put them on a decrepid old woman, whom he presented, thus dressed, before his men, telling them, that he had caught the Moslem Páshá, and thus excited their mirth at the poor Páshá's expence.

The Páshá, however, made his way to Nicopolis, and repaired the breaches which had been effected by Michael on that fortress. When on the point of going into winter-quarters at Hazargrade, he received information from the court of Constantinople that he was succeeded in the command on the banks of the Danube by the fourth vezír, Mahmúd Páshá. He accordingly returned to the metropolis about the middle of Jemadi II., and was honoured with the dignity and office of fourth vezír in room of Mahmúd.

*The grand Vezírship conferred a third time on Ibrahim Páshá.*

When the want of that success which had attended the late campaign had been fully considered, and that Satúrjî Mohammed Páshá, the commander-in-chief, had effected no good, or had acquired no advantage whatever, but, on the contrary, had been the cause of much evil; that it was owing to his want of military skill that Buda was allowed to be laid siege to, and in a great measure destroyed; and, in short, that it was to him and to the grand vezír, Jeráh Páshá's, mismanagement, conjointly, the whole of the misfortunes which befell the orthodox troops during the late campaign were to be attributed, it was considered wise to remove both from their respective offices. Ibrahim Páshá, though more than once deposed from the grand vezírship, was yet considered a man of great talent and strength of mind, fully competent to fulfil the duties of the premiership, and at the same time those of commander-in-chief. He was therefore again created grand vezír,

and the seals were accordingly sent to him. This appointment took place on the 9th of Jemadi II. Jeráh Páshá was sick when this resolution passed, and did not of course attend the diván on that occasion. He was, however, carried to the palace of the chancellor, where the accusation against him was read to him, and he was informed, *pro formâ*, that he was deposed.

Four months after Ibrahím's appointment to the premiership, it was determined that he should assume the office of commander-in-chief also, and proceed to Hungary. Kapúdán Khalíl Páshá, the káimakám, and Jeghala Zâdeh, Sinán Páshá, the second kapúdán, attended to the necessary arrangements for the new army, which the grand vezír and commander-in-chief was to conduct to Hungary. This new army left Constantinople on the 27th of Shevâl. Tarnakjí Hasan Aghá, ághá of the Janissaries, commanded six divisions of the household troops: the victorious banners were unfurled, and a declaration of war was immediately issued.

Hasan Beg Zâdeh informs us in his history that the winter was so excessively cold when Satúrjí Mohammed Páshá, the late commander-in-chief, commenced his journey back, that it was with great difficulty he was enabled to reach Constantinople. On his arrival there, he found Ibrahím Páshá firmly installed in the office of grand vezír, and busily employed in the discharge of the duties of that high and important station. It was said, however, that in consequence of the asylum of the world having hesitated about advancing from the home treasury the necessary supply of money required for carrying on the war, the noble commander-in-chief delayed his departure for some time; and that, as a last resource, he had applied to the emperor's spiritual guide in the most earnest manner to get his master to grant the supply required. The reverend effendí, in the greatest haste, and under the pretext of calling a council, wrote to all the great men to meet, and to them he made a representation of the urgency of the commander-in-chief's demand. The empress-mother also lent her aid, and the thing at last was agreed to. Borhán Effendí was appointed defterdár to the army: Lám Alí Chelebí defterdár to the governor of Constantinople: Okjí Zâdeh was made secretary: and Mudehí Chelebí was appointed Reis-ul-ketáb. Other appointments also took place. The all-potent com-



mander-in-chief and the ághá of the Janissaries proceeded on their march towards the seat of war. On reaching Selivria, Abulsa'úd Záhéh Effendí died, and the Mufti Effendí, through the intercession of the father of the emperor's principal eunuch, was appointed to the presidency of Romeili; the grand vezír had, however, appointed before this Ma'súm Effendí to the same office. Músá Chelebí, son of Mohammed Effendí, was deposed from the office of high treasurer, and Borhán was appointed in his stead. The latter, after having provided for the army as far as Adrianople, returned to the metropolis. The ághá of the Janissaries, Tarnakjí Hasan Aghá, separated from the grand army at Chatalija, and marched his troops by way of Kirk Kilis to Belgrade.

*Satúrjí Mohammed Páshá murdered. Etmekjí Záhéh imprisoned.*

Ibrahím Páshá, on his journey to Hungary, reached Adrianople in the space of twelve days after his departure from Constantinople, whither Etmekjí Záhéh Mohammed Páshá, who had been degraded from the office of treasurer, which he held during the last war, had also come, but who kept himself concealed. By means of Ibrahím's lieutenant, Mohammed Ketkhodá, he was introduced to the serdár or commander-in-chief, and by means of large presents he got himself appointed high treasurer in room of Borhán, whom the serdár contrived to send to Uskúb. But this, however, was only the affair of a month; for a royal letter soon arrived which ordered him to be apprehended and the whole of his property to be confiscated. This order was issued in consequence of a report which had been sent to his majesty respecting his conduct and demerit; and the result would have been equally the same some time before it did take place, had it not been secretly delayed for awhile.

Hasan Beg Záhéh says, that when the serdár had arrived in the plains of Philippopolis he received some account of some manœuvres carried on between his royal highness the khán of the Tátárs and his predecessor, Satúrjí Mohammed Páshá. They had concocted a scheme prejudicial to the interests of the Ottoman empire; the result of their manœuvring, however, was fatal to Satúrjí. The serdár passed through Philippopolis and arrived in the plains of Sofia, where he halted, and sent for the ághá of the

Janissaries, who was a stage or two in advance, and held a consultation with him relative to some important affairs connected with the object of the expedition. The ághá afterwards returned to his troops. The commander-in-chief, it is to be observed, however, had received injunctions from the court of Constantinople to deprive Satúrjî of his life, the execution of which was committed to the ághá above-mentioned, who was also instructed to accomplish this commission on his arrival at Belgrade, where Satúrjî then was. This said ághá made all the haste he was able; and on the 12th of Dhu'l hijja, when he reached Hisárjik, near Belgrade, the serdár, Satúrjî Mohammed Páshá, sent some of his ághás and other officers with their troops as far as the plains of Belgrade to meet the ághá; unconscious all the while that his head was devoted. His friend, the khán, had sent him an invitation to come to him, and even warned him of his danger, but his mind was totally indifferent to all danger; in consequence, moreover, of his having received some friendly letters which had been sent him in the name of the new serdár, though the serdár neither wrote nor sent them, he heedlessly confided himself to the very person instructed to take away his life. The ághá, to accomplish the deed, prepared a feast and invited Satúrjî and his great men to dine with him at Hisárjik. On their arrival they were individually presented with a robe, and other tokens of respect which were conferred on them. Whilst they were thus cheered and elated by the kindness of their host, and harbouring no suspicion in their minds, this very host suddenly drew out of his pocket the royal document or rather death-warrant, and caused his soldiers, who were in readiness to obey, to slay the whole of his guests in cold blood. Thus ended the unfortunate and afflicted life of Satúrjî Mohammed Páshá. The cheerful feast became to him and his associates the feast of death. His lieutenant, Ibrahím, was sick, and did not accompany his superior; and when he learned his fate, he went on board a vessel with Satúrjî's khatíb, his friend, and put himself under the protection of his royal highness, Gházî Gherái, khán of the Crimea. He so terrified the khán with the horrible stories he related to him, that he resolved on setting out for his own country, and was only prevented from doing so by some of his own mirzás, who were not so easily alarmed.

In the meantime the commander-in-chief continued his march towards

Belgrade; and when he arrived at Batchina a messenger from the ághá met him and informed him of the fate of Satúrjî. His whole property, and that of his lieutenant, were seized and registered; at the same time orders were also given to take possession of Etmekjî Zâdeh's property, who was still at Belgrade, in order that that, as well as the property of the other two, might be examined. On the 17th of Dhu'l hijja the grand vezîr and commander-in-chief reached the plains of Belgrade.

Etmekjî Zâdeh, who, we have seen, was ordered to be imprisoned and his property confiscated, lay without hope at this very time in prison at Belgrade; but some who were well acquainted with the state of affairs, and the necessities of the army in regard to their being properly supplied with every thing requisite for their expedition into the enemy's-country, as well as Etmekjî Zâdeh's fitness for this and similar objects, obtained his release, and had him reinstated in his former office. By the vigilance which he manifested in the discharge of his duty he afforded no ground of uneasiness or discontent to the Moslem troops, as he had done in the late campaign. He took good care that the treasury and other departments under his inspection and management were properly attended to.

The grand vezîr remained at Belgrade till about the end of the month last-mentioned (Dhu'l hijja), and saw that all the magazines and store-houses were well filled with all sorts of provisions: he also put a number of boats into a state of preparation.

*Strange conduct of the new Grand Vezîr Ibrahim Pâshâ.*

It is related by Alâja Mohammed Aghâ that he himself, at the time Satúrjî Mohammed Pâshâ was killed, was present with Ibrahim Pâshâ when on his way to Belgrade. His words are: "I was present in an assembly, called together by the Pâshâ, when it was announced that Satúrjî Mohammed Pâshâ was murdered. The Pâshâ fell into a great rage, and asked furiously who had brought the intelligence. 'It is false: it is totally without foundation,' said he, and then again asked the person who announced it: 'whence and from whom have you received this story?' When the informer was about to say that he had been a witness to the deed, the commander-in-chief broke out again in a furious rage and said: 'behold, this infidel

utters falsehood in our presence; by the head of the emperor, if this story turns out to be false you shall be punished with death.' After having thus exhausted his fury upon the informer, he turned to the persons who composed the assembly, and thus addressed them: 'Muselmans, what an unlikely story is this! That an ághá of the Janissaries should be guilty of the murder of so celebrated a vezír as Satúrjî, without the emperor's permission and unknown to me, is unworthy of a moment's belief: it is false.' So great, indeed, was the rage into which he put himself, that he actually foamed at the mouth like a rabid animal." The same historian goes on to say, that at this time he stood before him, and on the páshá's beckoning to him to approach him he obeyed. "Go," said the grand vezír, and wherever you find Etmekjî Zâdeh take him to your tent and make him your prisoner." The narrator adds: "I immediately went in search of him and found him in the tent of the ketkhodá. On asking him to accompany me he got up, and we talked together till we arrived at my tent, when I invited him to step in. He immediately appeared confused"—for this Alája Mohammed Aghá was the chief executioner—"and asked the reason of his inviting him into his tent. On informing him of the nature of the firman which had been sent to me regarding him, he instantly sent a person to inform the ketkhodá of what had happened to him. The ketkhodá got into a violent passion at the conduct of the ághá, and went directly to the serdár and complained of him. The serdár swore he knew nothing of the matter, and said it was false. 'What is the ághá of a regiment,' said he, 'that he should, without my permission, be so bold as to put a defterdár into confinement;' and many more words to the same effect. He then called the ághá, asked him if he had done so and so, and by whose authority he had so acted; and turning to the members of his diván, said: 'look, ye members of the diván, what times have appeared, that an ághá of a regiment, without right or necessity, should take it upon him to imprison a public functionary of so high rank as that of Etmekjî Zâdeh! I will certainly have him slain.' After having thus poured contumely on the poor ághá, he looked him in the face, and exclaimed: 'you infidel;' then pressed his thumb in the palm of his hand, and ordered him to be conveyed to prison: but he soon caused him to be released again." The same narrator says,

there was no end to the strange, deceitful, and injurious actions of which this ághá was guilty. Etmekjí Zâdeh found opportunity afterwards, however, of getting the aforesaid ághá examined; his property, even to his bed, sold, and himself degraded in the public estimation.

*Some other events of this year.*

By some delusion of the devil, a fellow, under the pretext that he was Sultán Soleimán, son of Selim II., who had been put to death, began to exercise royal authority in one or two cities and villages in the neighbourhood of Constantinople; but he was seized, his head cut off, and his miserable body suspended from a tree.

This year, in the month of Rabia II., five French galleys, laden with troops and military stores, entered by mistake into the harbour of the island of Scio, and overpowered the garrison of that place. In consequence of a strong gale of wind, however, these galleys were driven from their moorings, and finally out to sea. Four hundred Frenchmen were thus left upon the island, and these the inhabitants, after the galleys had disappeared, slew with the edge of the sword.

In the month of Ramazan the emperor of Túrán (Scythia), Abdulkhán, by means of his superior army took possession of the kingdom of Khorásán, but was soon afterwards called to visit the world of spirits, when his son Abdulmo'min reigned in his stead. The Usbek Tátárs not having been satisfied with his administration, however, murdered him, and called Núr-ud-dín Mohammed Khán, surnamed *Tekín Khán*, to the government of Túrán and Khorásán.

This same year also, the sháh of Persia, Sháh Abbás, marched his forces against him into Khorásán, and slew him at Herat. He subdued also the whole of that province, which contained twenty-four places of strength. Under a show of justice, and of fidelity to the Ottoman court, he sent an embassy to Constantinople, making an offer of them as a present to the emperor.

## EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1008. H.

*Account of Ibrahím Páshá's further operations.*

In the beginning of Moharrem (the first month of the Mohammedan year) the commander-in-chief Ibrahím Páshá, after having given orders respecting all the boats and vessels at Belgrade, marched forward in the utmost haste to the plains of Zimmún, where he encamped. On the 18th he reached Usk, where he remained nearly a whole week. On the 24th he crossed the bridge of that place, and reached the plains of Mehaj on the 27th. Here he was joined by Mohammed Páshá, the beglerbeg of Romeili, and by Alí Páshá, the beglerbeg of Rika. On the 29th the serdár reviewed his army.

His royal highness, Ghází Gherái, khán of the Crimea, having been much afflicted in consequence of the death of Satúrjí Mohammed Páshá, and having been also very much perplexed on account of the share he had had in his affairs, did not, on this occasion, join the grand army with his auxiliary Tátárs. The fear he had entertained on this score, as well as on account of some other parts of his conduct, strongly inclined him to retire to his own country, lest he should be incarcerated, and thus meet a fate similar to that which his late coadjutor, Satúrjí, had met. In this moment of perplexity and doubt his mind was completely relieved by the sight of handsome presents, which were brought him by Ahmed Páshá, of Michaeliej, Mohammed Páshá, beglerbeg of Sivas, and by the ághá of the Salihdárs, who also, with great deference and respect, invited him to join the grand army.

After a week's halt at Mehaj, the grand army, on the 7th of Sefer, moved forward to Banús, and were there met by Bálukjí Záhede Mustafa, accompanied by a messenger from Transylvania. On the 11th, the army encamped at the head of a lake near the banks of the Danube, where the commander-in-chief was apprized by letters from his royal highness Ghází Gherái, that the court of Vienna had sent him proposals of peace. On the 21st he encamped in the plains of Ján Kúturán. On this day (about the 19th of August) commenced the season of autumn. On the fourth day after the



above date, his royal highness reached the opposite shores of the Danube, when his excellency the commander-in-chief stepped into a boat and crossed over to pay him his respects. At this stage, two pieces of cannon, which had been abandoned by the enemy, were brought to the royal camp by the warriors of Alba Julia. On the 27th, the army encamped with great éclat in the plains of Kiris Elias, near Buda, and the Tátár army went to Pest, which lies on the other side of the Danube. The navy which was ordered from Belgrade also arrived. The inhabitants of Buda were inspired with courage and joy at the sight of such an army and fleet as those which now presented themselves before them. The beglerbeg of Buda having also arrived with provisions from Kupán, orders were issued that same day for commencing a bridge across the Danube. For accomplishing this object, a considerable body of men were sent to Kizil-hisár to cut down trees. Orders were also issued to put the grain and flour which had arrived into granaries in Buda. The bridge above-mentioned was finished in four days, and the grand army passed over to Pest. The serdár crossed over on the 7th of Rabia II., having previously formed the resolution of attacking the contemptible infidels, who happened to be posted at Jegirdilin, opposite to Osterghún. On the same day, a beautiful horse, with rich furniture, a splendidly ornamented dagger, and a number of other costly presents, were sent to his royal highness, Ghází Gherái, khán of the Crimea. On the same day also, Jánbúlád Zádeh Hasan Páshá joined the royal camp with the troops under his command. On the 10th of the month, the grand army reached Amrúdlí. But the infidels of Waj set fire to this place during the night, and fled. On the 21st, whilst the grand army remained encamped in the vicinity of Waj, messengers arrived from the enemy's camp, proposing that the Moslem grand army should postpone any further movement for the space of three days, in order to bring about, if possible, a pacification. When the third day arrived, the messenger waited first on the khán, and afterwards on the serdár, when Murád Páshá, Ahmed Aghá, belonging to his royal highness the khán, and Mohammed Ketkhodá were appointed commissioners, and ordered to proceed to the enemy's camp or tábúr, and negotiate a peace. They returned, however, in two days afterwards without having accomplished any thing; and the Moslem army, without any

further delay, put themselves again in motion, passed under Novograde, situate on a hill, without having sustained the least injury from the cannon of that fortress; and arriving at a new palanka near Waragil, on the banks of the Danube, opposite Vishegrade, they found it deserted by the enemy's troops who had held it in possession. The inhabitants endeavoured to escape, but were all either killed or made prisoners. This palanka was surrounded on three sides with a morass: the whole of its cannon and powder fell into the hands of the Moslems, who set fire to the place and burned it to the ground. Waragil, on the following day, was evacuated in like manner, and burned: nothing but the badness of the roads saved the infidels of Waragil from experiencing the fate of those of the palanka.

By this time, the infidel army discovered, as they thought, that the Moslems meditated an attack on them about the 20th, and conjecturing they would endeavour to cross by the two bridges which they had erected below Osterghún, they stationed some of their bravest men in that quarter, in order to resist them. The serdár, however, pursued the plan he had first formed, and without a moment of unnecessary delay, made towards Jegirdilin, where a considerable number of the enemy was concentrated. Mohammed Khetkhodá thought it would be more advisable to postpone any attack on the enemy for a day or so, and the khán was of a similar opinion. The serdár, therefore, delayed; but on the 22nd he entered with his grand army the plains of Jegirdilin, which so terrified the infidels that they quickly crossed the river and concentrated themselves somewhere below Jegirdilin, but found that the two bridges which had been erected there had been cut down. A number of sick men whom they had left behind were all put to the sword: the grand army advanced upon Osterghún.

In order to deceive the Moslems, and to retard their progress, the project of negotiating a peace was again had recourse to. The serdár having received letters to this effect, he appointed Murád Páshá, Mohammed Khetkhodá, and Ahmed Aghá to proceed to the head-quarters of the enemy and negotiate with the Archduke Matthias, the Palfi, and the Groof. The Moslem commissioners laboured to get Agria exchanged for Osterghún, but their proposals were received with coldness, and insurmountable objections started, so that the Moslem commissioners had to return without

accomplishing any thing. Both parties, indeed, withdrew from the conference, and the enemy retired to Komrán.

The commander-in-chief, in a council of the khán's omerá, determined, in consequence of the royal firmán for carrying on the war this year having restricted him to a depredatory mode of warfare, on putting this method into execution. Accordingly, he sent off a number of warlike troops along with a Tátár army into the enemy's territories, to destroy and seize what they could.

On the 2nd of Rabia II. the army crossed the rivers Abyúl and Warad, and on the 5th reached the lake of Segmehal, near Uiwar. The predatory army before-mentioned succeeded in making a number of captives, and seizing some cattle, but by no means to the extent so powerful an army was expected to have done. Whilst the serdár remained at Segmehal, the beglerbegs went to Uiwar, and there learned for certain that the enemy had retired to Komrán.

As the winter was setting in, the ághás of the regiments were put in mind of this, and instructed to return home. In the Nokhbeh Tarikh it is said, the grand army returned on the 28th of Rabia II. to Jegirdilin, passed by Filk and Khutwan, and arrived at Pest on the 6th of Rabia II., when each hired soldier received, in lieu of provisions, two pieces of gold. On the 14th they reached Buda, when his royal highness, Ghází Gherái, khán of the Tátárs of the Crimea, took his leave, and set out for his own dominions. The exalted commander-in-chief did all he could to dissuade him, but in vain. His royal highness was certainly not well pleased, and when he was urged to remain he replied, that the time for the Tátár army to retire had arrived; and accordingly he set off. It does not appear that there was any particular intimacy between the khán and the serdár, though the latter was not wanting either in politeness or attention. The fact is (for what reason does not appear), that the khán was never once pleasant, nor even showed an agreeable countenance. He never once entered the serdár's tent, and their intercourse, for the most part, was on horseback.

The grand army, after passing through Geshgæmida, Sonbúr, and Baj, arrived on the 22nd at a place opposite to Fúidwar, where they were met by kapujís from Constantinople, who brought the serdár intelligence of the

death of the learned and reverend prelate, Sa'd-ud-dín Effendí, and of the appointment of Sinán Effendí in his stead; also that Yúsuf Páshá, whilst conducting back the boats and vessels to Belgrade, had been attacked by a party of the enemy, in which struggle Yúsuf Páshá fell to rise no more. On the 25th the army reached Agria, of deceitful name,\* where they halted a few days to thwart any further mischievous purpose which the enemy might have against their boats. It began to be reported that the odious Michael had subdued the whole of Transylvania. On the 29th letters were brought to the serdár which confirmed this report. On the 3rd of Jemádi II. the serdár crossed the bridge of Waradin, at which place he caused the household troops to be paid their wages. On the 7th he reached the plains of Belgrade. Here the ághá of the janissaries, Tarnákjî Hasan Aghá, took his leave of the serdár and departed for the metropolis. The troops of Anatolia and the rest of the army were allowed to go into winter quarters at Belgrade.

By the good providence of God the army, notwithstanding the great heat and droughts, returned without having sustained any particular hardships in this campaign.

*The French soldiers stationed at Papa join the Osmánlis.*

About three thousand of the French troops who had been sent to assist the Germans against the Osmánlis, were appointed to garrison the fortress of Papa. Having been in this fortress for about a whole year, and having received no wages for the service which they had rendered, they quarrelled with the Hungarian soldiers of that place, had frequent sharp skirmishes with them, and at last slew them. On this account they applied to Mohammed Páshá, beglerbeg of Romeili, who was at Buda, and offered to deliver up Papa to him if he would agree to pay them the wages which were due to them. They made a similar application to Dervîsh Páshá, beglerbeg of Bosnia, and who was stationed at Alba Julia. Mohammed Páshá complied with the request of these Frenchmen, and sent his lieutenant,

\* Why Agria is thus termed cannot be discovered; but it is probable the writer meant to convey the idea, that the success which attended the Moslem arms at that place, only led the Osmánlis into all the misfortunes which afterwards befel them.

Abdi Aghá, with four hundred men, and also the beg of Alba Julia, Arnáúd Hasan Páshá, with his troops to support the above renegadoes against all who came against them, and to avenge the death of their brethren. The Moslem aid which was thus sent them did it effectually; for they slew all who came to oppose them, carried away with them all their wives and children, and distributed them for slaves among those of the troops who had been most active. Three of the most respectable and most honourable of these captives they sent, under the charge of Hasan Páshá, to Belgrade. In the meantime a statement of the amount of wages due to the Frenchmen by the Austrian government, and which amounted to fifty thousand pieces of gold, and for which they had stipulated to deliver up Papa to the Osmánlis, was sent off to Constantinople without any unnecessary delay. The government readily agreed to the proposal; but before the money could be sent to them, the Germans surrounded Papa with cannon and soldiers, so that, in fact, neither the money nor any thing else could be sent to them. The poor Franks remained more than a month in this besieged condition, and thinking it hopeless to wait any time longer in this state of suspense and danger, they, under covert of the night, secretly left the fortress, and tried to escape to the mountains near Alba Julia, about six leagues distant. Not being acquainted with the road, they were soon overtaken by German and Hungarian soldiers, who slew the greater part of them. Nevertheless, five or six hundred of them, who escaped falling into the hands of their pursuers, eventually found their way to Alba Julia in a very weak and wounded condition. Five hundred of them remained at Alba Julia, and the remainder went or were sent to the serdár or commander-in-chief. This account of the Frenchmen of Papa is taken from the Fezliké, but Hasan Beg Zâdeh and Abdulkádîr relate the story somewhat differently.

From their account of the fact it appears, that the French who had garrisoned Papa had written to Dervish Páshá, proposing to deliver up that fortress on the condition of receiving a sum equal to what was due to them by the Austrian government, also of being received into regular pay, and that pay to be regularly paid to them at the end of every three months. Their number amounted, they stated, to two thousand, and they promised to be every way serviceable to their new masters, provided their offer was

accepted. Sixty thousand ducats was the sum they demanded, which the exalted serdár agreed should be advanced to them, and immediately sent an account of the whole affair to the court of Constantinople. The money required, and ten thousand ducats in addition, for paying travelling expenses, were sent to Dervish Páshá, who sent it to the Franks. To the principal or leading man among these Franks, who was a cardinal, a gold chain was sent along with the sixty thousand ducats. As soon as the money and the gold chain were delivered to the Franks, they put the Osmánlis in possession of Papa and immediately joined Dervish Páshá. They were afterwards escorted by one of the ághás to Belgrade, where they entered into the service of the Turks. The exalted serdár some time afterwards showed them very great respect in the siege of Kaniza, they being the very first who entered the trenches on that occasion. The same night on which they entered into these trenches, the serdár gave them fifty thousand ducats over and above the pay which was due to them. This race was found most active and useful in the following campaigns, and were always preferred to other infidels. Several hundreds of them afterwards accompanied Sultán Osmán Khán in his wars, and were most serviceable to him whilst engaged against the northern nations. These French or Franks did not kill in the ordinary way. Such of the Russians and Cossacks as fell into the hands of the Moslems were delivered over to these Franks, who first fixed them alive on spits, and then roasted them before a fire, turning them round and round till they perished by the process.

*Laudable qualities of Ibrahim Páshá.*

Petchoghli says that Ibrahim Páshá, the commander-in-chief, was a man of exemplary humility, possessing great benignity of nature and extreme meekness. So great was his compassion and commiseration when any one was brought before him for any crime, that he not unfrequently betrayed weakness. On a certain occasion, when some peasants were brought into his presence for rising up against the cazi of Púzgha and murdering him, he took the blame to himself, and gave them a certificate which signified that he had given them permission to perpetrate the crime of killing the cazi. The reason he alleged for having acted thus was, that if



the peasants of the borders were too strictly dealt with, they would, to escape the process of examination, go over to the enemy. He manifested on several occasions similar compassion and forbearance towards many of the enemy when they were brought before him.

It belongs to this part of our history to observe, that in Rabia II. of this year, the janissaries of Shám (Syria) having exercised excessive oppression towards the poor inhabitants of the province of Haleb under the pretext of raising taxes, the governor, Hájí Ibrahim Páshá, beglerbeg of Haleb, in order to suppress this mode of oppression, caused seventeen of these Syrian janissaries to be seized and put to death. This circumstance, however, gave rise to very serious commotions afterwards, and was the cause of the shedding of much innocent blood.

The Georgian nation also revolted this year. Simon, the Hákim or governor of this province, a faithless infidel, raised the standard of rebellion and suddenly attacked Gúri, which he soon obliged to submit to him; and afterwards rased part of the city to its foundation. By the assistance of God, however, the governor-general of Tabríz and Ván, Ja'fer Páshá, succeeded in getting him into his power, put him in irons, cut off the head of Alexander, another of the Georgian princes, seized upon his sons, and sent them along with Simon to Constantinople. Simon was confined in the Seven Towers, but soon afterwards embraced the Moslem faith. He died during the reign of Sultán Ahmed Khán.

Among the events which took place during this period, the following is worthy of being remarked: There lived in Constantinople a certain Jewess, who by means of an unlawful traffic acquired notoriety, and was the means of seducing and corrupting several individuals of some note. Her corrupt practices awakened the displeasure of the Spáhís, who raised a tumult, and prevailed upon the governor of the city, Khalíl Páshá, to deliver her up, in order that the evil of which they complained might be removed. The governor, who seemed to have some fear of this wretch's wickedness, and thinking it probable the queen-mother might hear of her, ordered Kazánjí Zádeh, a Chávush báshí, to go and demolish her dwelling. He did so; and not only caused her children to be seized, but also hurried them and her away to the governor. They had no sooner reached the stairs of the

senate-house than the spáhís lost all patience, drew their weapons, and murdered every one of them. Their odious carcases were thrown out into the Meidán. But the perpetrators did not stop here. They cut off the Jewess' hands, the instruments of bribery and corruption, and nailed them to the door of some of those who had been involved in her crimes. The emperor, however, was much offended at the shameless violence which the spáhís had exhibited, and therefore removed Khalíl Páshá from his office for not having restrained them. He appointed the eunuch Háfiz Páshá in his stead.

*Concerning Abulhelím.*

This person, commonly called Karah Yázijí, or Scrivano, was one of the principal actors in the rebellion which began to rage in the east.

Whilst the Moslem army was necessarily employed in repelling the aggressions of the Hungarians and protecting its frontiers from the inroads of these and other infidels, several insurrections broke out in the east. Karah Yázijí, known by the name of Abdulhelím, the commander of a cohort, headed a band of lawless and disaffected peasants, and unfurled the standard of rebellion in the district of Rohá.

This same Yázijí was formerly beglerbeg of Ethiopia. Towards the close of 1007, when Hasan Páshá was called on by the court of Constantinople to give an account of his maladministration in Anatolia, the deputy of Caramania, Mohammed Chávush, went with a thousand men to chastise him; and after an hour or two's fighting, dispersed Yázijí and his band of rebels. Yázijí fled to Iconium.

When the government of Constantinople heard of these things, it appointed Mohammed Páshá, the son of Sinán Páshá, and third vezír, to the office of commander-in-chief of all the Asiatic troops; and he immediately sailed for Alexandria.

When the new commander-in-chief arrived in the vicinity of Iconium, he found that Hasan Páshá was two stages in advance of him, and had joined himself to Karah Yázijí, who had subverted the fortress of Rohá. Mohammed Páshá soon surrounded Rohá, and was not long in forcing Yázijí to terms of accommodation. Yázijí was promised permission to

return to his own sanjak on condition of his first delivering up Hasan Páshá, which he accordingly did by letting him down by the wall of the fortress: thus sacrificing his friend to save himself. Yazijí, without any further ceremony or security, set off for Amasiah (a city in Cappadocia), that being the sanjak assigned to him.

It has been said of Karah Yazijí, that on finding that all his lead was expended during the siege, he caused dollars to be melted down and made into balls; and that it was only after these had been also expended he was necessitated to sue for peace. Hasan Páshá was carried in chains to Constantinople, had his hands and feet cut off in the diván, was afterwards mounted on a beast of burden and exposed through the streets of the city, and lastly, was empaled at the Woodgate as a public spectacle.

Karah Yazijí not thinking himself secure, and fearing Mohammed Páshá might be disposed to take vengeance upon him for his former practices, again commenced to exercise cruelty and to excite rebellion; and it was only after Mohammed Páshá's lieutenant and several other ághás had perished by his hands, that he was at last overpowered by the serdár, Mohammed Páshá, himself. He now fled into the district of Sivas, and fortified himself in the mountains which border on that district. The winter season having arrived, Mohammed Páshá went into winter-quarters at Diarbeker, determining that as soon as the winter was over he would pursue the fugitive into his strongholds.

In the meantime, however, Mahmúd Páshá, beglerbeg of Sivas, went to Constantinople, and not only succeeded in obtaining a suspension of hostilities against the wicked rebel, Karah Yazijí, but was himself, in consequence of his representation, again received into favour. He made it appear that his rebellion was owing to Mohammed Páshá's tyranny, and that it was on this account he had gone into the mountains. He, in fact, represented him as a man worthy of important trust. The mufti and the káimákám were so thoroughly persuaded of the truth of this representation, that he was not only forgiven, but advanced to the sanjak of Chorum. When Mahmúd returned to Sivas, he and Karah Yazijí were both employed in quelling the turbulence and insubordination which existed throughout the country. The commander-in-chief, Mohammed Páshá, was recalled.

Hasan Beg Zâdeh says that Chelebí Kází, the son of Sina allah Effendí's brother, had received large sums of money from Karah Yazíj, and that he eagerly laboured by his representations, not only to procure a pardon for Yazíj, but also obtained the sanjak of Chorum for him. He used his utmost efforts also to get Mohammed Páshá removed from office.

*The state of Yemen. (Arabia-felix.)*

After the beglerbeg of Yemen, Hasan Páshá, had completely subdued, in a series of battles, the rebels of that country who had raised the standard of rebellion against the Ottoman government, the chief amongst them, who appeared in the name of Imám Mehdí, and several other Arabs, suffered death by decapitation; and the whole of his followers were visited by retributive justice. The governor of Kokbán, Mohammed, and the governor of Haja, Abd ur rahmán, having returned to their obedience, afforded their aid to Sinán, the deputy, who was there left to quell all disturbance, and things soon became quiet and settled.

*Ibrahim Páshá's movements against Kaniza.*

About the return of spring, and after the celebration of a religious fast, which was about that time observed at Belgrade, the exalted serdár, or commander-in-chief, pitched his camp in the plains of that city, where he remained for the space of a month, making all the necessary preparations for commencing a new campaign, and also to afford time to the other troops to join the royal camp. Tarnákj Aghá, the ághá of the janissaries, the ághás of other regiments, and officers of artillery, left the metropolis for Belgrade, about the commencement of Dhu'l hijja of the last year, and reached the royal camp towards the end of the same month. In consequence also of royal letters which had been transmitted to his highness the khán of the Crimea, he furnished a considerable supply of Tátár troops; and it was not long before the serdár was informed that the troops which his royal highness Ghází Gherái, khán of the Crimea, had supplied, and which amounted to several thousands, had arrived, under the command of a sultán, in the neighbourhood of Belgrade.

## EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1009, H.

All things being now in readiness, the grand army removed from the plains of Belgrade, crossed the Save towards the end of Moharrem, and encamped in the plains of Zimnún; whence boats loaded with provisions were forthwith sent to Buda. On the grand army's arrival at the seventh stage of its journey, it was determined to march upon Usk, with the view of reducing Osterghún.

It is necessary to observe, that the infidels of Kaniza (Canischa, in Hungary) were in the habit of perpetrating murders and committing robberies on both sides of the Drave and of the Danube, and, in short, had become very proud and exceedingly troublesome. Persons either going to, or coming from, the mills of Belgrade, were frequently attacked or carried off. About this time, or a little before it, they burned down to the ground a palanka called Púrnavar, not far from the bridge on the Save, by which the Moslem grand army had crossed that river, and committed some other devastations besides. Tarnákjî Hasan Páshá, who had been removed from Buda, and who at this time lived at Pecheví, no sooner heard of these cruelties than he immediately set out with a party of his followers in pursuit of the incendiaries, and on coming up to them on the banks of the Drave, they fled across a bridge, and afterwards destroyed it. This did not save them; for Hasan Páshá and his men crossed the river on rafts, again pursued the fugitives, killed some of them, made others of them prisoners, and the remainder of the vile incendiaries perished in the Drave, and so went to hell. The páshá and his men, after having performed these praiseworthy exploits, repaired with flying colours to the camp of the grand army, carrying their prisoners along with them, and for which service the serdár immediately granted the páshá his due meed of praise. He made some enquiry of the captives relative to the condition and strength of the enemy, to attack which the Moslem army had so far advanced. The exalted serdár, in a council of his great officers, when the subject concerning the reduction of Osterghún was adverted to, said: "Behold, great preparations have been made, many difficulties have been overcome, and just as we were on the eve of entering the enemy's territories, these infidels of Kaniza have

destroyed the bridge by which the Moslem army was to pass on its return. I am much concerned on this account, and therefore think it of the utmost importance that Búbofché, which is not far off, should be first reduced. This effected, we shall be able to command the whole of this quarter by placing a garrison in it, and, at the same time, keep the road to Buda open." All the military chiefs, princes, and ághás approved of this proposal, and the serdár's mind was bent on vanquishing Kaniza. Accordingly, Hasan Páshá, after the above consultation, set his men in order, crossed the bridge at Usk, and sent his heroes towards Búbofché.

At this juncture of affairs, Dimoo, the odious Michael's messenger, arrived in the camp with letters and presents for the court of Constantinople, (for Michael had submitted himself before this to the Osmánlis,) and along with the reís effendí, Hamza Effendí, set out for that city on the 16th of Sefer, the day on which the army crossed the bridge of Usk on its way to Shuklúshka, where they took among other things an eighteen wakáyat cannon.\* From Shuklúshka, a considerable number of troops under the command of the beglerbeg of Diárbeker, Murád Páshá, and Ketkhodá Mohammed, were ordered to advance upon Búbofché and lay siege to it. On the arrival of the army before Búbofché, the infidels made some little display of courage, by impetuously rushing forth upon the Moslems, who had just commenced the siege. In this sortie, one of the Mohammedan leaders fell a martyr, viz. the beg of Sigetwar, Delí Nasáh Beg. After they were repulsed, the Moslems commenced filling up the ditch which surrounded it, and in three days afterwards the serdár appeared with the grand army before Sigetwar. The contemptible enemy within this fortress, when they heard that the serdár was coming to attack them, were so powerfully overcome by terror that they yielded it up without resistance. Mohammed Ketkhodá conducted them all to Novgrade, on the lake Platten. In the meantime, the serdár passed through Petchevi from Shuklúshka, and halted at Sigetwar. From each of these fortresses he took some pieces of cannon, and on arriving before Búbofché he found it occupied by his own troops.

In a council held at Búbofché some concern was expressed regarding

\* A wakáyat is about 2½ lb.



Buda, when Hasan Páshá said: "Thank God, Búbofché has been conquered on very easy terms. It was the key, on this side, to Mekumúria, and the places of strength on the sea of Platten. Kaniza is the strong-hold of the infidels in that quarter. If it can be easily reduced, a great advantage in such a case will be obtained. Let us, therefore, whilst the enemy in that quarter has no suspicion of our movements, advance and take it at once." The rest of the chiefs concurred in these sentiments of Hasan: but the serdár again expressed some doubts respecting the safety of Buda and the country adjacent. The chiefs, however, were decided. "Let Hasan Páshá," said they, "be sent to Buda and attend to its safety: we are determined on marching against Kaniza." Hasan Páshá, accordingly, set out that very day for Buda. Lála Mohammed Páshá, the beglerbeg of Romeili, and who had occupied Buda, was ordered to join the royal camp with the troops under his command. Taking five large pieces of cannon from Buda, and a party of those Frenchmen formerly mentioned, he marched by way of Kopan to join the grand army. On his way thither, he came upon a palanka, which after two days' fighting he took, and destroyed every soul he found within it: for those who occupied this palanka were peasants who had thrown off their allegiance to the Ottomans. The palanka called Lawah they found deserted, took possession of it, and soon afterwards joined the royal camp, which had now arrived before Kaniza. The serdár, on leaving Bubofché, and arriving in the plains of the palanka of Perezancha, issued orders to the Tátár troops to commence their depredatory mode of warfare, and on the 1st of Rabia II. appeared with his grand army in the plains of Kaniza, where he was joined by Lála Mohammed Páshá and his provincials, as before observed.

This Kaniza (or Chanisca) was a very strong place, situate in an island in the river Brak, which issues from the lake Platten, and unites itself with the Drave. It was most difficult of access, being surrounded on two sides by wood and marsh, which reached to both branches of the river. Cannon could have no effect upon it, on account of the earthen mounds which served as out-works for its protection: neither was it found possible to make any impression upon it by the springing of mines. Nevertheless, the serdár, putting his confidence of success in God, gave orders to form the

siege. Every day four or five hundred balls were directed against it, but without any advantage whatever. Seventeen days were spent in battering it at the gate which opens towards Sigetwar with no better success. At length they constructed, by means of branches of trees, a path across the river sufficiently strong and broad to bear a waggon, but it stood only one day. This temporary path or bridge was called Lassa, and was a second time renewed.

On the 15th day of the month, about mid-day, the Moslems were put into a state of consternation and surprize by a most tremendous report, and the sight of huge pieces of rock and earth, as large as the human body, flying through the air, and for the space of two hours Kaniza was enveloped in smoke and dust. After the smoke and dust had cleared away, they perceived that one of its two mighty towers had been carried away. It would appear that the preceding evening, when some of the Moslem prisoners who had been there confined, had been sent to fill up some breaches which by this time had been effected, they saw the door of the powder-magazine standing open, when one of them conveyed a lighted match into this magazine, and so placed it that it might, in the course of some hours, reach the powder. This then was the cause of the Moslems' surprise. More than one thousand kantars\* were thus ignited, and produced the explosion described, carrying off by its irresistible force the tower already mentioned, the prison in which lay one hundred and seventy Moslem captives, women and children, the arsenal, and the palace of the prince or governor, and himself along with it. For several days after this catastrophe no guns were fired from the fortress, but they continued the use of their musketry.

In their distress and great amazement they sent word to the king (of Hungary), informing him of what had befallen them, and beseeching him to render them his aid.

Ferdinand, emperor of Germany, who had collected his troops with the view of visiting Buda, heard that Hasan Páshá was there, and therefore came with his whole army, which amounted to forty thousand foot and horse, to the aid of Kaniza. His advance guard appeared on the 28th, and the whole army took up its position in the neighbourhood of Kaniza.

\* A kantar is about 120 lb. weight.

The Moslem cavalry, eager to meet these infidels, advanced upon them; but such was the briskness of the enemy's musketry, that they were obliged to retire. The janissaries now left their trenches, though the Frenchmen remained in theirs, and advanced in their turn, but were soon forced to retrace their steps and fly. The courage of the Moslem camp was supported by the unfurled banners of the begs and governors at the head of their respective troops. The enemy took good care, however, not to play the same game they had played at Mehaj after the fall of Agria, *i. e.* by rushing on the Moslem camp. They so placed their guns as to make them tell more effectually upon the orthodox army; but fortunately the balls passed over their heads. A whole day was spent in hard skirmishing, when, towards night, the enemy retired within their fortifications, and spent the whole of that night in strengthening their position by means of ditches, mounds, &c. Next morning, the infidel foot soldiery, with their cannon in front of them, advanced to the charge. The Moslem commander-in-chief mounted on horse-back, arranged a body of his men behind a marsh: the janissaries and the beglerbegs with their respective troops stood ready in their places. The enemy continued to advance. The begs and páshás fell back upon the janissaries, who also retreated. The standard-bearers and brave commanders maintained their ground, but afterwards took shelter in the woods. A fog coming on prevented them from discovering the movement of the enemy, and they had nearly fallen victims when they returned from the wood. Night coming on, the sound of drum recalled the enemy to their fortifications. The following morning, the 1st of Rabia II., the Moslems determined on a general battle. The beglerbegs mounted their horses, and the foot and horse soldiers advanced; but the enemy had placed before day-break a number of men in various parts of the wood, who showered so plentifully on the Moslems as they advanced to the assault, that they were fairly staggered. Many of these orthodox men fell martyrs on this occasion, and were thus hurled out of time.

When the Moslem army had thus advanced to give battle to these pagans they supposed the Moslem camp was wholly deserted, and therefore endeavoured to throw provisions and gunpowder into Kaniza; but they were completely hindered from doing so by the exalted serdár, who appeared

with a party of cavalry and a body of Janissaries ready to intercept them. The Janissaries, however, as on the two former occasions, fled like a flock of sheep put in terror by a wolf, and hastened back to the camp. The serdár endeavoured to rally them, and to recall their courage by calling out to them, "My brave fellows, why do you act thus cowardly?" but all in vain. The serdár, seeing he could make nothing of his janissaries, turned about with those around him, and entered into personal engagement with the hateful enemy, whose sharp-shooters were only hindered from reaching the Moslem camp by a marsh which intervened. The exalted serdár had only about three or four hundred spáhís and salihdárs around his person when he entered the place of general conflict: many of them fell at his side. The serdár himself went behind a rising-ground and stood there. Shortly afterwards the ághá of the janissaries came running up to him, and letting down his sword exclaimed, that all was lost. The exalted serdár, without even looking at him, ordered the beglerbeks of Romeili and Anatolia, and the commander of the artillery to advance with four divisions and relieve those troops which had been engaged. The serdár, when he saw that the greater part of his men were in active operation, and that few had remained around his own person, was sorely grieved, and actually became bent with pain. The troops, however, rallied again, and once more made a vigorous attack on the enemy, in which the horse of the commander of the artillery fell, but he was soon supplied with another. The janissaries were very saving of themselves; not above forty or fifty of them showed their heads beyond their tents. Some of the cannoneers brought forward five falconets and two large field-pieces, and commenced firing them in front of the serdár with such effect upon the enemy as to cause them to draw together, and thus prevented them from entering into the Moslem camp. The approach of night, however, warned both armies to retire from the contest. Very many of the enemy perished in this day's struggle for conquest. The infidels, it may be observed, never again ventured from their stronghold. On the following day, the 3rd of the month, the Moslem foot and cavalry advanced again to meet the foe, and attacked them even in their own fortifications: at night they returned to their camp. On the fourth the Moslems held a consultation as to making a general assault on the fortifications of the

enemy. Two thousand Tátárs, who had been reserved in the camp, were sent out to make what reprisals they could, and seized a number of waggons laden with provisions for the enemy's camp. When the enemy saw that their provisions were cut off; that every road to their camp was watched by these Tátárs; and that they could find no means by which they might get Kaniza supplied with gunpowder; they on the 5th abandoned their fortifications altogether, and made off with themselves about the middle of the night of that date, leaving only a small quantity of spoil behind them.

*Kaniza taken.*

The Moslem army returned to the siege of Kaniza, and continued it seven days after the enemy's troops had fled. The besieged, finding that the army which had purposely come to their assistance had been obliged to fly in disgrace, as just now related, and being much weakened by the incessant efforts of the besiegers, as well as by the efforts they were continually called on to make in their own defence, became discouraged.

Yánush Towán Beg, who had succeeded the late prince that was killed by the explosion formerly mentioned, went along with one Muklúsh, a cavalry officer, to a certain place of the fortress, from which they saw but too clearly that the host which had come to their aid had fled. "All hope of safety is now gone," they said: "our gunpowder is expended, and these Turks will take Kaniza by force if we do not yield in time. It is far more advisable to deliver it, and save our lives before they do so, and give us no quarter." The Hungarian part of the garrison were willing to adopt this counsel, but the Austrian part of it continued obstinate for awhile, yet soon afterwards concurred with the rest. Such was the way they consulted among themselves.

On the evening of the 13th, which was the evening of the Sabbath, a tremendous rain fell; yet the Moslems continued their hostilities till day-break next morning, when it was announced that they were, on the following day, to commence a general assault. Every preparation for this mighty effort was made; but when the besieged saw the conquering Moslems moving on to the assault they hesitated no longer; they immediately hoisted a flag of truce over their gate, and the sound of their voices, im-

ploring for mercy, reached the skies. They requested that Khoja Sinán, of Petcheví, a trustworthy man, should be sent to them as a pledge of their security. This was accordingly acceded to, when immediately two or three of their chiefs, German and Hungarian princes, wearing gold chains about their necks, came forth to meet the exalted serdár, who presented them with robes, and granted them passports at their own request. These princes observed, that it was because they had no gunpowder they had submitted; "otherwise," said they, "you would not have reduced Kaniza. But," added they, "are the conditions on which you allow us to depart to resemble those promises you made to us at the taking of Yanuk and Agria, when you sent an army after us to murder us?" The exalted serdár gave them his solemn oath that, with the exception of their cannon and other arms, which now belonged to the emperor of the Ottomans, every thing else they were at full liberty to take along with them, and to depart in peace. They again, in consequence of this grace which the serdár had shown to them, said, "We have two hundred horsemen and one thousand five hundred foot soldiers in the garrison, besides women and children, who require the means of conveyance." The exalted serdár immediately ordered two hundred camels to be provided for them for the purpose of conveying their property and wives and children. On the following day they evacuated Kaniza, delivered over the keys of the city to the serdár, loaded the camels which the serdár had provided for them with their families, goods and chattels, even to their geese and hens, plates and cradles, and set out on their journey; and halted at a small distance.

In the meantime the head of the arsenal, and the commander of the artillery, Mohammed Ketkhodá, entered into the fortress of Kaniza, and took possession of it. Fifty-one pieces of large and twenty-five of small cannon were found in it. The churches were converted into mosques. The victorious troops entered into a friendly intercourse with the men who had lately evacuated Kaniza, and made some purchases of provisions and of such other articles as they had to dispose of. Mohammed Páshá, governor of Romelli, and Mohammed Ketkhodá conducted them as far as the fortress of Kapernak, about three days' journey, when they were met by a party of their own kind from that fortress, and who made some splendid presents to



the two chiefs, besides giving cloth to the other officers of the party who conducted them sufficient for one hundred garments, and as much as would make one for each of the camel-drivers.

Hasan Beg Zâdeh, who was present in this campaign, and who published an account of it, was appointed to write an account of the victory, and to send it by couriers to all parts of the empire. By the reduction of Kaniza, many other districts and towns, besides Kish, Komar, and Perzencha, were added to the Ottoman dominions, and were properly and regularly supplied with rulers, judges, and garrisons.

When the secretary of customs, Abdî Effendî, who had been appointed to carry the news of the victory which had attended the Moslem arms to Constantinople, arrived there, three days and three nights were dedicated by appointment to public rejoicings. Orders were also sent to all the other great cities to follow the example of the metropolis. A robe, a sash, and a richly-ornamented sword and dagger, a splendid tent, besides other valuable presents, were ordered to be sent to the serdâr or commander-in-chief, Ibrahim Pâshâ, along with a royal letter expressive of his majesty's approbation. Splendid swords and daggers, and also robes, were at the same time sent to all the beglerbegs in the royal camp. To the historian of this campaign, Hasan Beg Zâdeh, a robe and a sword were also sent.

It is but just to observe, what the warriors who were present in the late wars knew to be true, that the orthodox armies were on two occasions in very great straits, and had suffered much, *viz.* at Agria (at Mehaj near Agria) and at Kaniza. On the first of these occasions the orthodox troops had to contend with an army composed of soldiers belonging to the seven kings (*i. e.* to all the European powers). The second was at Kaniza, and which we have endeavoured to describe; but which was much more disastrous to the orthodox troops, on the whole, than the former. Seven successive days' hard fighting, from morning till evening, and in which the enemy maintained the superiority till God himself inspired their powerful enemy with terror, when they all fled, was of itself no easy task. Forty-three days, from first to last, were also spent in the arduous undertaking of reducing Kaniza, which was forced to capitulate only in consequence of the misfortune which had happened to its powder magazine, and which left

the place almost a naked rock in the midst of a marsh. The troops also suffered greatly from the want of provisions, and which could not be obtained even for money. A wakáyet of salt could not be had for a dollar: so great was the scarcity of all sorts of provisions on this memorable occasion. The janissaries (who certainly do not appear to have deserved any praise) were on the point of retiring altogether, and would not, most assuredly, have remained in the camp another day, had not the fortunate events which we have described above, taken place. Such were the difficulties which the orthodox Moslem army had to encounter in these wars.

Kaniza, after having been put into a state of thorough defence, was, with its dependencies, put under the command of the beg of Kústandil, Alájah Eili Hasan Páshá, and its spiritual jurisdiction was conferred on Kádurí Effendí. Twenty odás, with their officers, under the command of Sefer Aghá, a Segbán báshí, were left to garrison it; besides three thousand more who were to act in the capacity of spáhís. Sigetwar, Petchevi, Shuklúsh, Usk, and Kaniza, were all put under the supreme jurisdiction of the above-mentioned Hasan Páshá. To each of the plebian troops two pieces of money were given, and they were all registered among the troops of Buda and Agria. The serdár, on his return from Kaniza, halted near Perzencha, where he ordered a new apalanka to be erected. Having crossed the Drave near Yakúah, he passed on towards Usk, where he permitted his army to disperse. The beglerbeg of Romeili, with his provincials, was sent into winter-quarters at Perizrin; and the beglerbeg of Anatolia, with his troops, were sent for a similar purpose to Banialúka. The ághá of the janissaries was allowed to return to Constantinople, and the victorious serdár himself returned to Belgrade.

*Hájí Ibrahim Páshá defeated by Kara Yaziji (Scrivano).*

We have already had occasion to notice the conduct of the notorious rebel, Kara Yaziji, and how in consequence of intrigue and false representation, he was appointed to the sanjak of Chorum. In consequence of this odious rebel's having returned to his former doings, Ibrahim Páshá was sent from Constantinople with communications to Hájí Ibrahim Páshá, a vezír of the sixth rank, who was to conduct an army against the rebel, and who

also had been appointed commander-in-chief in room of Hasan Páshá, who had been removed from the government of Baghdad. In the event of Hasan Páshá's prolonging his stay at Baghdad, he was further instructed to proceed with the Anatolian troops, and endeavour by every effort he could employ to get the above-mentioned rebel and his brother, Delí Husein, into his power. Hájí Ibrahim Páshá, accordingly, went with his army in search of these men, and fell in with them at Cæsarea, at the head of twenty thousand insurgents, where he offered them battle, and which they did not decline accepting. The contest was severe and bloody, and Ibrahim was finally obliged to seek his safety in retreat. The victorious insurgents pursued him with an ardour worthy of a better cause, slew fifteen officers, and more than one thousand janissaries in the pursuit. It was with much difficulty that Ibrahim escaped into Cæsarea, and those of his followers who had not been so successful, fell victims to the fury of the insurgent army.

This event which we have here recorded is said, in some histories, to have occurred in 1008 of the Hijrah; but most of them place it among the events of the year we are now noticing, *i. e.* 1009. Besides, the orders which government had issued respecting this infidel, and which were sent to the inhabitants of Cæsarea, are dated on one of the first ten days of Rabia II., 1009 of Hijrah.

The story concerning Gira, the Jewess and her children, before noticed, is mentioned in the Fezliké of Hájí Khalífah as having taken place last year, but the author of the history we have followed in relating the account, and Kara Chelebí Zâdeh Azíz Effendí, place it where we have placed it. One of the sons of this infamous Gira, however, embraced the Moslem faith, and thus escaped the death which the whole of the rest of his family suffered. He went under the name of Iksák (lame) Mustafa Chávush. He died in the khan or inn of Devlet Sultání Ibrahim. The whole of the effects of Gira were confiscated by the government, and it is said they amounted to a very great sum. Her wares, independent of her jewels and estates, were sold for more than five hundred *yúks* of money.

The káfmakám, or governor of Constantinople, Khalíl Páshá, on account of some connivance he had with the Jewess whose tragic end we have related, met with strong opposition from the spáhí tribe, and was therefore

removed from his high office, and was succeeded in it by Khâdem Hafez Pâshâ, in the month of Shevâl of this year; but who ten days after was succeeded by Yemishîjî Hasan Pâshâ. The reason for this last change must now be explained.

During the time the Moslem army lay before Kaniza, Dimoo, the messenger of the odious Michael, arrived at the Moslem camp with proposals to the Ottoman government respecting the fortresses of Yanwah and Lipovah, and was forwarded by the commander-in-chief to Constantinople; the reîs-effendî was also sent along with him, bearing communications from the commander in-chief.

The kâimakâm, Khâdem Hafez Pâshâ, remembering the stratagem which Michael had practised on Hâfez Ahmed Pâshâ at Nicopolis, by means of this said Dimoo, as before related, the anger of the Pâshâ was raised to a high degree when he saw this messenger of deceit, and consulted the mufti concerning him. The mufti gave it as his judgment that no proposals whatever ought to be received from the odious Michael, nor any agreement entered into with so infamous a wretch, who, along with his deceitful ambassador, ought to suffer death. The kâimakâm, after hearing the judgment of the high priest, and without further ceremony, took summary vengeance on this satellite of mischief, by binding him to a tree and punishing him according to the nature of his crimes. Besides this act of summary justice exercised upon the person of Michael's messenger, and which was construed into an act of contempt manifested towards the grand vezîr and commander-in-chief, Ibrahîm Pâshâ, who had forwarded Dimoo to Constantinople, the kâimakâm, at the very time Ibrahîm was carrying on the siege of Kaniza, sent off a châvush with orders to make inquiry about matters on the frontiers, without once manifesting any regard to the authority of the commander-in-chief, to whom all these affairs properly belonged. This instance of open contempt awakened the displeasure of the grand vezîr, which, no doubt, was heightened by the conduct of the kâimakâm towards Dimoo, whom he had sent to court, led him to seek revenge. The châvush he confined in prison at Belgrade, and immediately wrote to the queen-mother, and to the âghâ of the sublime court, a statement of the kâimakâm's conduct, pointing out to them the evils that would

result from the plan pursued by Khádem Háfez Páshá, both as it respected themselves and the enemy. No messenger, he maintained, if such a method as the one above described was to be pursued, would either come from the enemy to them, or go from them to the enemy. In short, no consultation whatever, he insisted, could be entered into, if the persons of messengers were not to be respected. It was as much as to say, at least in the instance adverted to, that no confidence whatever was to be placed in either the sayings or doings of the commander-in-chief, or any trust in his majesty's minister—and much more to the same purpose. His statement was laid before the throne, when immediately Khádem Háfez Páshá was turned out of office, and Yemishjí Hasan Páshá appointed in his stead.

The new káimakám was no sooner installed in office, than a royal letter, no less fitted to embalm the heart than it was to console the mind, was sent to the exalted serdár, Ibrahim Páshá, in return.

*The odious Michael's troops defeated.*

Forasmuch as the countries of Valachia, Transylvania, and Moldavia having been, for several years past, disposed to rebellious out-breakings, and as the injurious and odious Michael had been the means of fostering and prolonging this spirit of insubordination among these different nations, it was necessary to try to put a stop to this mischievous wretch. Accordingly vezír Mahmúd Páshá, who had been sent to these quarters, and Sha'bán Páshá, the beglerbeg of Cyprus, who had been appointed to guard the banks of the Danube with his galleys, passed over, with their respective men, into the country of Valachia and repaired the fortress of Yerkok, and rebuilt its bridge over the Danube. Whilst employed in carrying forward these works, they sent their troops upon a depredatory excursion into the country of Valachia, and who not only committed great devastation throughout the country, but also completely robbed and laid desolate the mansion and premises which belonged to Michael himself. When the Moslem army were advancing towards the cities of Bekrish and Terghúshta, Michael, his vezír, and the commander of his army, the ban of Karah Chewah, met them with a very considerable force; but the Moslems soon gained a complete

victory over these infidels, and slew the greater part of them. The heads of his commanders, his gilded banners, his drums and kettle-drums, were all sent to the royal diván. Michael was defeated in two other battles; his followers were either killed or dispersed; all his ammunition and guns were seized, and he himself, despairing of escaping with his life, perished by his own hands.

In consequence of some confusion which had arisen with respect to the value of the coin, the new species, prepared by Yemishjí Hasan Páshá, appeared on the 5th of Rabia II. of this year. The ducat, which formerly went for two hundred akchas, now circulated for one hundred and twenty; and the dollar for eighty akchas.

Information reached the capital in the month of Rajab that Ja'fer Páshá, the governor of Tabríz, had departed this life.

By a prohibition of the emperor, in the month of Shevál, the hidden and shameful practice of using fermented liquor was suppressed.

Simon, the governor of Georgia, according to the Fezliké, was brought this year, (not last year, as elsewhere stated,) to Constantinople, and confined in the Seven Towers.

#### EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1010, H.

*The grand vezír, Ibrahim Páshá's death.—Yemishjí Hasan Páshá succeeds him in the premiership.*

We now begin to detail the events of another year; but before doing so we have to mention that the grand vezír and commander-in-chief, Ibrahim Páshá, having formed the project towards the end of the last year of concluding a peace with the enemies of his country, deputed Murád Páshá and Mohammed Ketkhodá to proceed to Osterghún, and there treat with Ferdinand's commissioners. A thousand Segbán troops, with coloured feathers in their bonnets, under the command of the beg of Semendria, accompanied the embassy.

Towards the end of Dhu'l hijja (the last month of the Mohammedan year), the commander-in-chief pitched his tent in the plains of Zimrún, opposite Belgrade, and watched with anxiety for the arrival of Alí Aghá, brother-in-



law to Ghaznafer, who succeeded to the ágháship of the janissaries. Tarnákji Hasan Páshá was appointed to the government of Kaniza. It is said that Murád Páshá and Mohammed Ketkhodá went to Usk.

The commander-in-chief's strength was now weakened by disease, and the signs of his mortality became quite apparent. In this condition he sent for his uncle's son, Morteza Páshá, and delivered over to him his most important earthly concerns; and on the 9th of Moharrem (the first month of the Mohammedan year) he departed this life, and his soul fled to the Paradise above. Morteza Páshá and Etmekji Zádeh, the defterdár, sealed up the whole of his effects. The beglerbeg of Romeili, Mohammed Páshá, by this time had left his winter-quarters and had come to Alaja Hisár, where he heard of the death of the commander-in-chief. This message was brought to him in great haste, because the late serdár had appointed him to take the command of the army in the event of his death. The following day, after the usual washings were over, and the funeral service performed, Mohammed Páshá consigned the remains of Ibrahim to a tomb adjoining the mosque of Bairám Beg. The account of Ibrahim's death, and a statement of the affairs of the borders, were forthwith dispatched to Constantinople, and laid before the foot of the throne and before the members of the diván.

In the meantime Murád Páshá and Mohammed Ketkhodá, who had been appointed to proceed to Osterghún with the view of negotiating a peace, finished the building of a palanka at one end of the bridge of Usk, which the late serdár had authorized to erect. They afterwards received an order of government to remain at this palanka.

Some few days after the decease of the late serdár, the ághá of the janissaries arrived at Belgrade, and immediately removed the remains of Ibrahim to Constantinople, where they were interred in the temple of Sháh Zádeh.

According to one account, the news of Ibrahim's death first reached Constantinople about the 20th of Moharrem, when the seals were sent to the káimakám, Yemishji Hasan Páshá. After his advancement to the premiership, he spent twenty days in preparing for his journey to Belgrade. By some means or other he was allowed the tents, pavilions, the equipage,

the military arms, and, in short, the beasts of burden which had belonged to his predecessor. He even married his relict, the princess Ayesha.

The new grand vezír still postponed his journey to Belgrade, and at length pretended it was too late in the season to proceed to that quarter. "Nothing of importance," he said, "could, by the time he could arrive there, be accomplished." He maintained, that no warlike operation was immediately called for in the present circumstances of the frontiers, or from the aspect presented by the enemy. Lála Mohammed Páshá, who succeeded in the command after the death of the late commander-in-chief, he further said, should be confirmed in the serdárship, proceed, if necessary, with the force under his command, and open the campaign. Thus did the new grand vezír excuse his own tardiness, and try to dispense with the necessity of his own departure. The Sheikh-ul-Islám, Sina-allah Effendí, thought otherwise. He maintained it to be absolutely requisite that the new grand vezír should proceed without a moment's delay to Belgrade, and urged this sentiment with great warmth even before the emperor. The new grand vezír had no alternative left him but to proceed: but for this interference of the high priest the grand vezír never ceased to employ every stratagem he could against him, and at length had him deposed. In the military and ecclesiastical departments he made what changes he pleased: particularly in the first, and that too as far as Adrianople; though this department properly belonged to the Sheikh-ul-Islám Effendí. He advanced some, deposed others, as his fancy directed, and some he degraded. The Sheikh-ul-Islám Effendí, the high priest of the religion of Mohammed, felt his displeasure, as well he might have anticipated, after having expressed himself in the manner he did. Khoja Zádeh Mohammed Effendí was created mufti in the room of Sina-allah Effendí. Bostán Zádeh Effendí and Shemish Effendí were succeeded by Abdulhelím Effendí and by Isaad Effendí. The cazi of Constantinople, Ketkhodá Mustafa Effendí, was replaced by Mustafa Effendí of Adrianople, who was succeeded by Yahiah Effendí. The seventh vezír, Khalíl Páshá, was made káimakám, and Hafez Ahmed Páshá was made third vezír. Tarnákj, who had been deprived of his ágháship, but afterwards appointed to the government of Baghdad, had to resign his situation to Mohammed Páshá, son of Sinán Páshá, and Hasan

Páshá was made vezír at Constantinople. Hamza Effendi was made chancellor in room of Okjí Zádeh. All these changes were effected by the new grand vezír.

On the ninth day of the month Sefer, the grand vezír and commander-in-chief, Yemishjí Hasan Páshá, left Constantinople with great pomp and show, but did not encumber himself with tents or any heavy baggage. Persons were previously appointed to proceed in advance and have booths of branches of trees prepared at every station for his army. By this mode of quick travelling he was enabled to reach Belgrade by the 27th of the month, when he took possession of his predecessor's tents which had been erected in the plains of Zimún by the late grand vezír himself. This was the first time he had entered a tent from the day he left Constantinople till his arrival at Zimún.

The new grand vezír lost no time in attending to the duties of his station and office. Provisions were distributed amongst the troops, and full fifteen days were spent in arranging matters for commencing another campaign. Before detailing the events of that campaign, we must first advert to the success which the enemy had obtained at Alba Julia, and some other affairs, but which properly belong to the events of the preceding year.

The fall of Kaniza was a heavy loss to the enemy, and afflicted them very much and universally.

Towards the end of winter the Duke Mathias, with his Austrian and Hungarian commanders, came to the plains of Yanuk, where he assembled an army of forty or fifty thousand men, composed of Germans, Hungarians, Bohemians, and Polish troops. Twenty pieces of ordnance and ten sháhí (royal guns) were attached to this mighty host, which marched upon Alba Julia. Information having reached Belgrade, a short time after the spring commenced, that the enemy had laid siege to Alba Julia, the commander sent off, to the aid of the above place, the beglerbeks of Romeili and Anatolia with the Bosnian army; but before these auxiliary troops had time to cross the bridge of Usk, Alba Julia was taken by the enemy, after a siege of nine days. Alba Julia was no sooner taken than the enemy supplied it with a sufficient garrison, and afterwards concentrated its whole force at a place in its neighbourhood.

*Concerning Tarnákji Hasan Páshá's going to Kaniza.*

Some time after the reduction of Kaniza, Tarnákji Hasan Páshá having arranged matters at Buda, left the care of that fortress to the defterdár, Munker Kúshí Mohammed Effendí, and set out, towards the end of winter, to Belgrade, to pay a visit to the serdár, Ibrahím Páshá. This visit was not made in vain; for he succeeded with Ibrahím to have himself appointed to the government of Kaniza, and the defterdár, Munker Kúshí, to retain his charge at Buda. After his appointment he left Belgrade and went to take charge of his new government, but was not long at Kaniza before he heard of the death of his benefactor, Ibrahím Páshá. In a state of grief, occasioned by this intelligence, he left Kaniza and pitched his camp at a place called Ghurizghár, not far from Sigetwar. A wonderful event happened on the day on which he made the transition alluded to. It was excessively hot and sultry: suddenly, in a moment, an unusual loud sound was heard in the air, and so terrible as to frighten the horses. Everywhere they perceived immense companies of crows in the air, above the tents, fighting with each other, and which, after having fought their battle, as described, set out directly towards Kaniza. About an hour after this wonderful scene another of equal wonder presented itself. A host of eagles, similar to that of the crows, made their appearance above the tents, performed the same sort of manœuvres as their predecessors had done, and followed the same direction which they had taken. Those who witnessed these strange phenomena were, as may well be imagined, awfully surprised and confounded: but Hasan Páshá was a man of great prudence and caution. "It is a warning and a sign from God," said he, in a solemn tone of voice; "it is an intimation of two engagements with the enemies of our religion." After having repeated these words he called his deputy, who, at that time, was Iskender Páshá, and desired him to proceed to Belgrade and send him word who had been, or was to be, appointed commander-in-chief; and also to request him, whoever he might be, to send a reinforcement of troops to Kaniza. After having dispatched this messenger, he himself returned to Kaniza, and paid all due care and attention to put it into a state of defence and security. He sent persons, also, to the sanjaks of Sigetwar, Petcheví, and Puzgha, to collect

provisions for the garrison ; also others to spy out the condition and strength of the enemy. These latter messengers brought him the intelligence that the enemy had assembled an immense army at Yanuk, and that eighty thousand Franks were expected to join them from Frangistan. The páshá sent out other spies, and waited with anxiety for their return.

*The enemy return to lay siege to Kaniza.*

It is to be observed that before this, an augmentation of troops, amounting to sixty thousand, foot and horse, supplied by Austria, Spain, and France, had been shipped at a port belonging to Venice, and disembarked on the shores of Croatia. The brother of the Roman pontiff commanded the Italian troops (the troops supplied by Spain, probably). Zerín Oghlí Majar, the beglerbegs of Aslobin, of the Black Herzog, with King Ferdinand at their head, met the above-mentioned European troops at Warashdin, in the country of Mekomúriah, and brought forty pieces of large ordnance along with them.

In a council of war held on this occasion at Warashdin, they were all nearly unanimous in thinking it most advantageous to lay siege to Kaniza. Zerín Oghlí replied, in opposition to general opinion, that first of all, the fortresses of Perzencha and of Búbofché should be reduced ; the ruined fortress of Sekish rebuilt and garrisoned : then to go and take the fortress of Kushwar, which would have the effect of dispersing the inhabitants of Koban and of its vicinity, viz. those of Barcan. " That appears to me," said he, " to be the plan we ought to adopt. After we have accomplished these, let us support the German and Hungarian army stationed near Alba Julia. If the Moslem serdár should venture to attack them, we shall, in such a case, be ready to assist them ; if he should attack us, then they will be ready to come to our assistance." This counsel of Zerín Oghlí was rejected and the first opinion adhered to. They determined on reducing Kaniza.

All this various information was carried to Hasan Páshá by his spies, and he was immediately induced, without divulging a syllable of what he had heard to any one, to issue orders to his begs and commanders to prepare for entering the country of Mekomúriah on a depredatory excursion on the shortest notice ; and to have their arms and provisions in readiness. These

begs and commanders throughout his government obeyed, and assembled with their troops in the fortress of Sigetwar. This order to his begs and commanders was given under the pretext that the enemy was marching towards Buda.

In the meantime the enemy's troops advanced within one stage of Kaniza, where they halted three days for the arrival of their artillery. They thought, from the movements which they had perceived among Hasan Páshá's troops, that they had actually gone towards Buda, and that, therefore, Kaniza would be obliged to yield without much resistance. "Never mind; let the Turks go to Buda," said they among themselves; "we shall see what state Kaniza is in." Thus saying, they sent out some spies, who when they returned confirmed them in their blindness. "The Turks," said the spies, "have not the least idea of our approach; but Hasan Páshá, the governor of Kaniza, says, our army has marched on to Buda; and that he is therefore preparing to enter into the country of Mekomúriah on a predatory excursion." Such was the import of the report of the spies; and it had the effect of filling the infidels with joy. After considering all these appearances, apparently in their favour, they advanced to the siege.

*The grand vezír and commander-in-chief, Yemishji Hasan Páshá, marches against the enemy.*

After the grand vezír had reached Belgrade he learned that Alba Julia was besieged by the enemy's troops, and therefore sent off a body of men to its assistance. This auxiliary army had scarcely reached the bridge of Usk, when information reached him that Alba Julia was taken by the enemy. Immediately after this the news of Kaniza's being besieged was also communicated to him.

The experienced páshás at Usk entered into consultations as to the plan they ought to adopt in the present circumstances. Some of them proposed to go to Kaniza; others of them thought this unnecessary. Every one had his own opinion: they were fairly divided. After much and long disputation, it was at length observed, that if they should go to Kaniza, it was more than probable the enemy's army at Alba Julia would pursue them. They would thus be exposed to two armies at once, each of which was



very powerful. In this case (said the speaker), it would not be an easy thing to give an answer. Better that we march to Alba Júlia; and after we have defeated our enemies there, continued the speaker, we, on our return, will march to the aid of Kaniza.

This counsel was agreed to; and, accordingly, letters were issued, giving information of the resolution the páshás had come to. They commenced their march towards Alba Julia, and on reaching Jankúterán they were joined by the division which the grand vezír had formerly sent forward to the aid of the Alba Julians, and also Munker Kúshí Mohammed Páshá with the troops of Buda. In another council held at this place they unanimously agreed to attack the enemy at once and with vigour. Having taken eight badalooshkas and four large cannon from Buda, they advanced in the greatest haste, and reached the plains of Alba Julia on the first of Rabia II.

The enemy lay between two mountains, and had an immense ditch in front. The Moslem army advanced, threw a bridge over the river which issued from a lake, crossed this river on the following day, and attacked the enemy in their tabúr or fortifications. The great and small guns were put into immediate requisition. On the following morning, at day-break, the combatants on both sides were in motion, and the work of destruction was again renewed and carried on till the darkness of the night made it necessary for both parties to retire.

According to Hasan Beg Zádeh's account of this battle, it would appear that the janissaries, on the last of the days above-mentioned, when led on to the attack by the commander, had fled before the opposing foe, and were on the very point of making the commander their prisoner. God protected him.

Petchevlí says, that Mohammed Ketkhodá having secured an advantageous position, slew immense numbers of the enemy. The enemy now advanced in four columns, each column five hundred strong, and drove the Moslem cavalry off the field. The salihdárs were ordered to advance to oppose their progress, but were unable to effect any thing: night, however, came on, when both parties retired from the conflict for a few hours, but it was soon after renewed with double fury. In this day's work of death, towards evening, Mohammed Ketkhoda and Mohammed Munker Kúshí Páshá, the

governor of Buda, whilst advancing with their divisions to an attack, fell in the field of battle.

According to Hasan Beg Zâdeh and Abdûlkadîr's accounts of this battle, it appears that the Romeilian troops had been ordered to support the attack in which the two chiefs now mentioned met their death, but that, in consequence of some rancour which their commander, Mohammed Pâshâ, entertained against Khetkhodâ, they had failed : neither did any of the other troops, they say, offer to do it. Petchevlí says, however, that he himself was present and an eye-witness : his words are, " I was standing beside the pâshâ and looking at the contest. The pâshâ (*i. e.* the beglerbeg of Romeili) was not aware when this attack was made, and therefore could not have rendered them any aid. After the return of the divisions which they had led on to the attack, the martyrdom of these heroes was announced to him, and he was excessively grieved that they had advanced to that attack without having given him notice of it. Any account of the matter differing from this is false."

On the night of the last battle the enemy altered their position ; for when the Moslems, next day, moved slowly to meet their antagonists, they found them closely concentrated in a narrow pass in the road which led to the fortress of Polatah. Finding them thus situated, and seeing they had succeeded, during the night, in casting a deep trench, the Moslem army did not again offer to attack them. Under pretence of winter having set in they retired altogether from the scene of contest and battle.

The government of Buda was conferred on the beglerbeg of Romeili, Mohammed Pâshâ. Four thousand janissaries, under the command of a túrnají báshí, were ordered to accompany Mohammed Pâshâ to Buda. On their return to that fortress they passed through the country of Segdin. Winter having come on, preparations for assisting Kaniza were immediately commenced.

*Kaniza is besieged.*

We have already mentioned the manœuvre practised by Hasan Pâshâ, governor of Kaniza, and the arrival of the infidel army within a stage or one day's journey of the above city and fortress.

On the 8th of Rabia II., five thousand of the above army appeared in the vicinity of Kaniza, on the road which led to Vienna. The governor gave the strictest orders to the head of the artillery not to fire on them, and forbade any of the cavalry to venture out: for the object of this hostile party, he observed, was to seize prisoners where and how they could. Let the foot soldiers, continued he, meet them with their fire-arms and contend with them; and he immediately placed a number of effective men at each of the gates. The order of the governor was obeyed. The heroes who went to dispute the progress of the enemy, manfully maintained the bloody contest till mid-day, when the enemy retired to their *tábúr*, leaving many of their men, as well as of their horses, on the field of battle. Ferdinand was informed of the result; but, it would seem, knew nothing of the attempt they had made, and strongly reproved them for it.

Next day (the 9th), Ferdinand himself called one of his princes, ordered him to advance with a party, and by all means endeavour to seize some prisoners. This was the very object the party, the day before, had in view. This second party advanced till they were under the very guns of the fortress, and contended with the heroes formerly mentioned till the hour of afternoon prayers, when they, instead of retiring as on the previous day, stopped and cried out: "by the religion of Mohammed, if you have only one gun fire it." The heroes, in compliance with the instructions of their governor, replied, that though they might have such, yet that they had till then refrained from using them, and had spared their lives. The enemy believed this, and rejoicingly went and told it to Ferdinand the king. The king immediately called a council of his great men, and communicated this intelligence to them. On the following day (the 10th), he sent forth a party a third time, who fought more desperately than on either of the preceding days. On this occasion they again requested the Moslems to fire a gun, that their king might hear its report in his camp or *tábúr*. The former answer was returned to them, with this addition: "We are here but for a few days, like strangers. Would a man live in a desolate island-like place as this? Our emperor has many thousand palankas like this Kaniza."

It is to be observed, however, that when Hasan Páshá desired it to be

said that there were no cannon in Kaniza, his ághás opposed it by saying, it was improper to mention it to the enemy; "for," said they, "if the enemy should happen to be either unwilling or afraid to attack us, this saying will most assuredly have the effect of inducing them to do so." The Páshá replied: "attend you to my orders; there is something that you do not yet know: I know when to employ the cannon: I reserve them till then." But to return. The infidels returned, as on the former occasions, and informed Ferdinand what they had heard from the Moslems about there being no cannon in the fortress of Kaniza. Ferdinand, elated by this intelligence, called a council of his great men. "Let us," said he, "send out spies, and if the intelligence which they bring us correspond to what we have just learned, then we will certainly root them out. We will, afterwards, order our movements according to any method which Prince Mathias, now below Yanuk, may see fit to adopt." So much for Ferdinand. Some of his counsellors, however, ventured to think differently. "Let us first," said they, "lay siege to Sigetwar and take it: let us, in fact, take every one of the fortresses as far as Usk, and root out the Turks from every one of them." Zerín Oghlí, who was present in this sage assembly of warriors, was asked to give his opinion. He did so. It was as follows: "In the reign of Sultán Soleimán Khán I was shut up in this fortress (Sigetwar). The outworks of the fortress can be easily taken, but the citadel is peculiarly strong. It will require forty pieces of cannon for each one of its batteries before any impression can be made upon it. It was after having thrown a hundred thousand loads of earth into the lake, by which it is surrounded, and as much again above its surface, that Sultán Soleimán was enabled to surround the fortress and take it by force. If your strength is sufficient for an exploit of that kind, and if the Turkish troops do not turn upon you, then you may perhaps succeed. One thing I know, that if you are able this year to deliver Kaniza out of the hands of the Turks, you will accomplish a feat which will be without a parallel: for, you must know, there is shut up in it an enchanter whose artifices elude all detection. For twenty years past we have been obliged to drink his poisonous draughts. Every time they announce that he is either sick or dead, he is sure to appear in one or other of our provinces and perpetrates immense evil. Hitherto no

one has been able to withstand him. He has completely vanquished, by his artifices, every one who has opposed him." Zerín Oghlí having finished his long speech, one of the Frank princes, who had hearkened to it, said : " This man (Zerín Oghlí) is not acquainted with our method of war, or he is an ally of the Turks, and tries to intimidate us." Zerín's speech was henceforth disregarded by the council, and Ferdinand said " that next day, at all events, they would advance upon Kaniza : if the Turks abandoned it, good and well ; if not, we will lay siege to it. Let these treacherous Hungarians (the inhabitants of Kaniza) see what will be the fate of the fortress of Kaniza. After Kaniza is once disposed of, then we shall take vengeance on them. They have every where instigated the sword of the Ottoman to deeds of blood."

On the 11th of Rabia II., about mid-day, this vile army of infidels, with the beating of drums, sounding of cymbals, blowing of trumpets, and ringing of bells, approached with great pomp, and with inverted arms, the devoted city and fortress, and took up its position on the banks of the river Berk, on the road which led to Vienna. A short time after they had thus taken up their position, they perceived a number of waggons which happened to be conveying provisions from Perzentcha to Kaniza, but which the infatuated infidels thought were waggons come to carry off the population of that city, and therefore gave orders not to meddle with them in going in ; determining to pursue them when they again came out, and murder the whole of the people they might find in them. They were, however, completely deceived. It is a curious fact, but true, that the men who had escorted these waggons went to the governor, after having safely entered Kaniza, and asked him what was the meaning of the mighty army they had observed on the banks of the Berk—for surely, said they, they are not enemies. The governor pleasantly replied, that they had come on a visit : " but now that you have all safely got into the fortress," said he, " they shall be served with a feast of red-hot melons without delay."

The wisdom of the páshá in giving orders not to fire on the enemy, as before observed, appeared most conspicuously to every one : for had he ordered his guns to be fired at the enemy when they urged him to do so, it is clear the waggons with provisions would certainly not have been allowed

to enter into Kaniza, but would in all probability have fallen into the hands of the enemy, as well as the troops which escorted them. But to return. The páshá called the heads of the artillery, and asked them how many cannon there were in the place. Nearly one hundred, small and great, was the answer. "Well then," said the governor, "let them all be charged, and as soon as you hear *Allah! Allah!* discharge the largest, and immediately afterwards, and at once, let the others be discharged in the midst of the enemy. The guns were accordingly loaded, and the well-known signal waited for.

In the meantime the páshá bowed the knee twice in humble prayer. The signal was at length given: the largest, and immediately after it the rest, were fired, the roaring thundering noise of which made the earth to quake. The enemy, as might well be imagined, were struck with terror, and perceived when it was too late their mistake. Ferdinand was standing, at the moment a volley of shot from the batteries of Kaniza was poured in amongst his army, talking with four of his princes, three of whom were shot dead on the spot. Many thousands besides perished. This feast of red-hot melons made the enemy think of retiring across the river; and whilst in the act of doing so they were hotly pursued by the Moslem heroes, who fought with them till the night closed upon them. The enemy having again encamped in the direction of Sigetwar, the princes came forward and said to King Ferdinand, "Behold, sire, the stratagem the Turks have laid for us! Let there be no quarter shown to them: let us destroy them root and branch, and make them a spectacle to the world." The king replied, that he would see how they themselves should act: it was the day of vengeance.

They now put their cannon in order, entered into the trenches, and from this moment the siege of Kaniza may be said to have been properly begun. Their first act of hostility, after commencing the siege, was the discharging of three cannon, none of which did much injury. The first passed harmlessly over the fortress: the second was not quite so harmless, for it passed through the páshá's palace, killed one of his relations, and then rebounded towards Sigetwar: the third touched the odá of the ághá of the janissaries, but did no injury. They afterwards, at once, and from six different places,



discharged forty large pieces of cannon, the noise of which seemed to indicate the total annihilation of the place.

When the enemy had laid siege to Kaniza, or at least when they first appeared before it, Hasan Páshá called a council of his grandees, to whom he observed : that though there was no scarcity of gunpowder, or any want of water, and though they had abundance of provisions, yet it was proper, he said, the commander-in-chief, Yemishjí Páshá, before he removed from Belgrade, should be made acquainted with their circumstances. Two heads of odás, one called Ahmed and the other Mohammed, were appointed to accompany Karah Punjeh, a veteran of the borders, and one who was well acquainted with all languages, with this intelligence to the commander-in-chief. They left Kaniza by night, passed through Sigetwar and Shukulwish, and arrived on the fourth day after leaving the above city at Belgrade, when they laid the passport of their mission before the commander-in-chief. The latter, after holding a council, wrote letters to Hasan Páshá, assuring him that he was on the point of coming to his assistance, and dismissed the messengers. On the return of these messengers to Kaniza, they found it so closely besieged that not even a bird could wing its way into it without being discovered. The two odá báhís remained at Sigetwar whilst Punjeh disguised himself, and by this means conveyed his despatches into Kaniza, which had the effect of animating the hopes of the besieged. But to return. The enemy having commenced, as before observed, a regular siege, their efforts became unremitting. Every day witnessed more than a thousand balls directed against the walls of Kaniza; but the brave veterans within filled up during the night the gaps which these horrible cannon effected in the day-time, with their bed-clothes, and such other things as they could find. The heroic páshá went about every where, and stimulated and encouraged the besieged. For the space of a whole week they had not shut their gates, and the foot veterans continued to make regular sorties against the besieging foe. Their cattle also went in and out regularly, and the enemy did not succeed in taking even so much as one of them, much less any prisoners.

The enemy having made no speed in their method of operations, thought proper to change it. They recrossed at a place called the ford of Mohammed

Khetkhodá, and in the direction of Sigetwar effected mounds and ditches to the number of fourteen, leaving, in the direction to Vienna, where they had first taken up their position, five pieces of ordnance and six thousand troops. After having accomplished these manœuvres, they now began to throw vast quantities of rushes into the Berk, over which a covering of wicker-work was placed. Over this again they finally, though it took them more than forty days to accomplish, made a kind of road or bridge corresponding in breadth to one of their ditches, with which it communicated. They carried their materials by means of light barrels made of fir, which were easily dragged by two men. After having extended this road or bridge to the walls of Kaniza, to which they firmly fixed it by means of iron rods, and when all things were nearly in a state of readiness for commencing an assault, Hasan Páshá, who was no careless observer of their manœuvres, and who knew when and how to baffle the enemy, sent a few heroes, who had volunteered their services, in a boat by night, when the infidels were drowned in sleep, to set fire to their huge labour, and which they punctually did. The bridge, and every living infidel who happened to remain on it, perished in the flames.

Some time before this event in the history of this memorable siege, Hasan Páshá wrote again to the commander-in-chief by the aforesaid Punjeh. In these communications he urged Yemishjí Páshá to come at least to Sigetwar, that by doing so he might encourage the spirits of the besieged. "If this fortress should happen to be taken out of our hands," said he, "it will not easily again be retaken, and you will find some difficulty in exonerating yourself." Karah Punjeh proceeded with this message, taking his two former companions along with him from Sigetwar, where they had stopped, and met the serdár at Usk. Instead of complying with the earnest request of Hasan, and fulfilling his former promise, the serdár only sent him an encouraging letter, telling him he was on his march to Alba Julia, but would, on his return, afford him the aid he demanded. Karah Punjeh returned to Kaniza, and delivered, secretly, his dispatches to Hasan Páshá, who, on reading them, immediately had them copied, and added, as if from the serdár, that he would soon arrive to the aid of the garrison. Next day he called a council, made this copy, or rather forged

letter, to be read in their hearing, which produced all the effect the sagacious páshá wished. The people were overjoyed, and resolved, every man of them, to hold out, at the expense of life and all that was dear to them, to the very last ; but they anxiously looked for the arrival of the serdár.

The enemy, after the burning of their bridge, tried to repair their loss by building another, in which labour they spent another twenty days ; but it also met with the fate of the former. Finding themselves thus a second time foiled in their attempts, they commenced building boats of fir-wood at the head of the Berk, which they covered over with boards, over which they again placed cow-hides, with the view of preventing the small arms of the besieged injuring those on board of them. After having launched this flotilla, each of which carried one hundred men, the infidels, on the night on which this took place, began to make great rejoicings. Hasan Páshá, in the meantime, and on the same night, sent out a party to try and seize some prisoners, who returned with two. On their being presented before the páshá, he asked one of them, privately, the cause of the enemy's rejoicing ; and was answered that it was owing to the great success which had attended their arms at Alba Julia. " How comes it to pass," asked the páshá, " that all the prisoners which we have hitherto taken belong to your nation (Germany) ? Are there no Hungarians and Croatians among you ? " " Why," answered the prisoner, " the Hungarians are favourable to the Turks, and therefore none of them are allowed to straggle from the camp." The páshá again asked him what number of Hungarians there might be in the army ? He was told, that besides Croatians, there were about thirty thousand in it. After having thus questioned the first prisoner, he called the other and questioned him in the same way, and he returned similar answers to those given a little before by his fellow prisoner. The páshá, with a stern voice, ordered the prisoners to be led forth, and to have their heads struck off ; secretly intimating, however, to Karah Omar, to whom this order was given, to take the prisoners and show them the one hundred and fifty pandúrs and the five hundred Hungarian horsemen who had accompanied the waggons of provisions which had entered Kaniza about the time the siege was begun, and whom the páshá had retained. " Tell them," said the páshá to Karah Omar Aghá, " that they are all Hungarians,

and that we expect a thousand volunteers of the same race to join us in two or three days more. Say to them," continued the sagacious páshá, "that you yourself are one of their nation (Germany), but that you have been in the service of the páshá since your youth; that you have a thousand men under your command; that you have got so much property that you cannot think of relinquishing it: that you will be extremely happy if the German army succeed in taking Kaniza, but that there are many amongst them who wish for no such thing; that there is provision in the garrison of Kaniza sufficient for a whole year to supply the number of inhabitants within it, who amount to thirty thousand Turks alone; that there is abundance of gunpowder in it also: then invite them to wait till the ice is formed, when you will let them away. Our páshá, you will say to them, desired to have your heads, but I have interceded with him in your behalf: I now release you, and you may go when you please; but be sure to tell your superiors, when you reach your own camp, of the kindness I have shown to you." Karah Aghá acted his part most masterly, gave them some pieces of white bread, and sent them away, secretly, as it were, in a boat to their own army. These two men had no sooner reached their companions, than they went to inform Ferdinand of the history of their captivity, which very much grieved him. The intelligence which the two captives seemed to have in their power to communicate was any thing but pleasing to King Ferdinand; and it was no less astonishing, when compared with his former information, than it was unwelcome and distressing.

One morning, about this time of the siege, a voice was heard as if coming from the enemy's camp, which said, "Do not fire any of your guns; we (there were more than one) have something to tell you." "What is it?" was the reply. "Why," said these early visitors, "be it known unto you that your commander-in-chief, Yemishjí Hasan Páshá, has been completely defeated and routed at Alba Julia. The heads of Mohammed Ketkhodá and of Mohammed Páshá, the governor of Buda, have been sent to our commander-in-chief, thanks be to God. Behold, here they are!" and then held them up to the view of the besieged Moslems at the end of long poles. "To-morrow," continued the early vagrants, "to-morrow our whole force will be brought to bear upon you. In whom is it that you place your

reliance? Your commander-in-chief has been defeated and has fled. Deliver up this city and fortress, which belongs to our king, and save yourselves from certain and inevitable destruction. Your governor, Hasan Páshá, is a vain man, and seeks to ruin you: pay no further regard to him. Save yourselves and your property; for the king promises to secure both if you hearken to our advice. To-morrow, when Duke Mathias returns to us from Alba Julia, no mercy will be shown to you. If you stand in doubt with respect to the two heads now exposed to your view, let any one of your number, who was acquainted with their possessors, come forth and examine them; and satisfy himself. He shall sustain no injury: on the contrary, our king will confer favours upon him."

These tidings greatly alarmed the inhabitants. "The serdár has been defeated; our provisions and our gunpowder will fail us if that mighty army should come against us," said the frightened inhabitants to Hasan Páshá, the intrepid governor, who had a mind ready to act in every emergency. "My brave veterans, you all know," said he, "that the accursed enemy has promised us nothing. Do not let the sight of the heads of the infidels, or their threatenings, by any means terrify you. I have a few things to say to you—hear me, therefore, patiently. Renew your engagements with me. Whether the heads which the infidels have shown you be really the heads of the persons they have said they are, is yet to be discovered. To ascertain this, let us send Karah Punjeh, who will bring us correct information on this point. And should it even turn out that they are the very heads of the two men above-mentioned, that is no reason why we should be any way discouraged. It is not on their account we have shut ourselves up in Kaniza. Long live the emperor! If the meanest slave were desired to sacrifice his life, he would willingly give his head, as those men gave theirs. We are here for the defence of our religion, though now cooped up within the narrow limits of this place. But I have some reason to think that this city and fortress, God willing, will not fall into the hands of the enemy. One of my reasons is as follows. When Ibrahim Páshá was, on a former occasion, employed for the same length of time we have been besieged in reducing a fortress, he would never have gained the victory, had he not said: 'if God will prosper my undertaking, I shall

devote this place to the illuminated city, Medina;’ when shortly afterwards it fell into his hands. It is hoped that he who has devoted himself to the Sultán of the prophets will not fall before the infidel. Another reason is: the enemy commenced the siege on the night of the 12th Rabia I., which is the birth-night of our prophet. There is, therefore, hope to his followers, who have been besieged on the very night which is held sacred to the memory of him who came into the world on that night to bless it, and is the rejoicing of all the prophets. Again: you, every evening, sound the Mohammedan signal or watch-word, *Allah! Allah!* and though the enemy were at once to discharge his forty pieces of cannon, yet God will manifest his care over those who trust in his name. I pray God, that as he has not permitted us to fall into the hands of the enemy, so this hateful army may never get away in safety.” This speech of the páshá had a powerful effect on the minds of the besieged, who were not only animated by it, but also prognosticated important good from it. He again counselled them to pay no regard to the words of their morning visitors, who had no other object, he said, but that of deceiving them. “Show them your swords,” cried he again, “and these dastardly fellows will see what metal you are of.”

The páshá, after having delivered the animated speech which we have here recorded, proposed sinking the two heads into the river, on the banks of which they were still exposed. He had scarcely spoken, when a cherí báshí came forward and proposed to direct a cannon against them. “Do so,” said the páshá, “and God prosper you.” The cherí báshí immediately pointed the cannon called Bulbul at them, and in a moment the two heads were at the bottom of the river. The infidels to whom the charge of the heads had been given, and who spoke in the ears of the besieged the speech on the occasion of their being first presented to them, returned to their camp vexed and disgraced. The successful cannoneer was honoured by the páshá with an annual pension.

When Ferdinand was informed of the result of his messengers’ embassy, he became enraged, and said he would present ten villages to any one who would bring him a prisoner from Kaniza. None of the infidels, however, though they did all they could to accomplish the king’s wishes, were able to succeed. God prevented them.



*Arrival of the Arch-duke Mathias.*

Early in the morning of the day the events of which we have just described, a movement was discovered among the enemy's troops, and soon after their foot and horse moved in the direction of Komran. About mid-day the arch-duke, with his army and heavy baggage, made his appearance, and soon encamped. His army, one division after another, took up its position, and displayed immense pomp; no doubt with the view of inspiring the besieged with an idea of their might, and thus of dispiriting them.

These manœuvres and movements being over, the duke called a general council of his great men, in which a variety of matters were discussed. No one, however, could give him any thing like a correct account of Kaniza. Ferdinand declared, weeping, that in all his life he had never met nor seen people like the Kanizians. "Whenever we speak in a friendly manner to them," said the indignant Ferdinand, "they brandish their swords." The duke replied in very harsh terms: accused him of having acted himself some way or other treacherously, or "you are not," said the noble duke, "acquainted with the operations of war. I have been up the country, and have reduced a city like Alba Julia, and have contended all this while with Turkish armies. Several of their chief men I have beheaded. It is now three months since you commenced your operations, and you have not been able to take so much as one palanka." Such were some of the subjects which occupied the noble duke's great council. Ferdinand and his officers were indignant at the treatment they had received from the arch-duke, and proposed, as they had nothing, to leave him and his troops to carry on the siege which they had so inauspiciously begun.

After the dismissal of the above-mentioned diván, the arch-duke tried his own skill in manœuvring. He sent a message to the besieged, the purport of which was: that their commander-in-chief, Yemishji Hasan Páshá, after having been defeated by him (the duke), had gone to Sigetwar; that there were now two mighty armies ready to co-operate against them; that the seven (European) kings were present, and sent them their salam (salutations); that if they were determined to maintain their integrity to their own sovereign, they might do so, and yet deliver up Kaniza to its legiti-

mate sovereign; that the winter had arrived, when they would have no chance whatever of being supplied with provisions. "Leave, then Kaniza," continued the duke's messengers, "in peace and safety; not a hair of your head will we injure;" and much more in the same strain, and requested a favourable answer. The besieged, however, appeared to be firm and fearless. They brandished their swords in token of defiance, which so provoked the messengers that they cocked their pieces, but afterwards retired expressing their contempt. It is certainly true, however, that when the Turks in Kaniza saw the immense number of the enemy's army they became afraid, and seemed disposed, through fear, to yield to the enemy. They dreaded that as soon as the messengers returned to Mathias, he would become so enraged as never to stop till he reduced the city and fortress, and killed them all.

From the continued effect of the cannon on the walls of Kaniza, in several places they were, at length, laid even with the ground. The enemy found means of secretly preparing a kind of bridge and other apparatus. The boats which they had built were launched, and all throughout the camp were ordered to stand to their arms. Three persons were deputed by the enemy to go and endeavour, by offering money, to get one or more of the besieged to desert. These persons made a display of their ducats, and said that they expected that a Turk or two would come and take them into the place, because they meant to become Muselmans. Hasan Páshá, who saw through their design, said their object was to try to get some one or more to desert to them, and ordered a cannon to be pointed towards them. The signal for discharging it was given, when, in a moment, the men were carried off by the shot, and both fell in one place. The archduke was excessively chagrined when he heard the result of this third mission. Two thousand eight hundred chosen men, all volunteers, were put into a state of readiness for scaling the walls. To encourage them he promised to give ten villages to the first who should succeed in climbing the ramparts, and forty villages to the man who would bring him Hasan Páshá. The following day was appointed for attempting this heroic plan.

Hasan Páshá was not idle. His plans were deeply and wisely laid. As

soon as the enemy had set their boats afloat, he caused openings to be made in the mound which surrounded Kaniza, exactly opposite the place at which this fleet of boats was to touch, and placed large cannon, all charged, in these openings, but in such a way as not to be discovered.

After the Páshá had seen all this accomplished, he called his principal soldiers to him, offered up a short prayer, and afterwards addressed them thus: "My brave fellows, let not the greatness of the multitude of the enemy any way terrify you. God willing, we shall be revenged on them. Every time the enemy has lighted the torch of war, God, in his goodness, has invariably extinguished it again in their discomfiture. Let me see you, therefore, act your part with bravery and true heroism: let us all, in faithfulness to our religion, be firm, and oppose them with courage. If we perish in the conflict, we shall be saints in heaven. Our heroes, both in this world and at the day of judgment, are truly honourable and worthy of esteem. Be then united and firm in your efforts in your own defence, and exercise with boldness the weapons in your hands. Let your activity manifest itself in boldly resisting and repelling the efforts of the hateful enemy to make you slaves. I have the utmost confidence the enemy's machinations will be completely frustrated." In this way did Hasan Páshá encourage and animate his troops and followers. These brave men and their companions in arms entered into solemn compact, bade each other adieu, attended to all their various duties of friendship and domestic affairs, as well as those of eternity, and every thing seemed to bid defiance to the utmost effort of the foe in trying to reduce Kaniza. After all things were fully and properly attended to, they all, with firm and courageous hearts, returned to their respective stations, and, like envious lions, stood ready to grasp at their invading foe.

Meantime the enemy was busy. During the night season they accoutred themselves in their various arms, and one division after another took up its position in the trenches formerly prepared, till they were completely filled; the boats were all manned with volunteers, and at daylight the signal-gun was fired, the sound of which seemed to awaken heaven and earth; and the ball passed over the wall at the gate leading to Sigetwar, which was forty feet high, and was stopped by the odá of Mahmúd Cher-

bají. The enemy, immediately on this signal-gun being fired, commenced an assault from five different places at once. When their fleet of boats had sailed down opposite the fortress, the cannons which had secretly been placed in hollows in the mound which surrounded Kaniza, opened upon them, and soon sent them, with all on board of them, to the bottom of the river. This powerful, but unexpected reception, astonished the infidels completely, but it had also the effect of rousing their fury to a greater height.

When the besieged Moslems first perceived the tumultuous assault of the enemy, they were a little staggered and disheartened; but Hasan Páshá, the heroic vezír, stepped in before them and stimulated their courage. "My brave lions," said he, "this day is a day of peculiar effort and exertion: turn not away your faces from the contest, but be firm and inflexible for one hour longer, and this impoverished straggling host will be vanquished." This speech, like all his former speeches, had its desired effect upon the minds of the besieged, who became more determined than ever to sell their lives as dearly as possible; and they resolved to fall victims for the sake of their religion, rather than yield up the city and fortress of Kaniza. Every assault of the enemy was, therefore, resisted with such desperate bravery and courage as to outmatch every thing. The commander of the janissaries and chief of the cavalry, Sefer Aghá, performed the most astonishing feats of bravery. He was, at that time, only a segbán báshí, but was afterwards raised to the dignity of a páshá.

In the meantime, the artillery of the garrison committed the most tremendous havoc among the infidels; but they were no sooner hewn down than their places were filled up by others sent forward to maintain the struggle. The awful sound which proceeded from the combatants on both sides is indescribable. The confused noise of drums and trumpets, the clash of arms, the thunder of cannon and musketry, and the bursts of mortars, baffle all description. Heaven and earth trembled. The carnage of that day was so awfully terrible that the compassionate angels in the seventh heaven looked down on the scene with astonishment and wonder, and entreated God to scatter and confound the associates of idolatry.

The awful conflict we have just now endeavoured to delineate continued

with unremitting fury till midnight, when it pleased God to vouchsafe his omnipotent aid to the besieged orthodox. At this moment the enemy retreated to their fortifications, as if panic-struck, leaving behind them eighteen thousand of their fellows, undistinguished and without name. Among the wounded lay the brother of his holiness the Pope. He was struck by a musket-ball, and soon afterwards perished. This execrated wretch commanded thirty thousand troops.

After this remarkable success which had attended the Moslem arms, the veterans approached the páshá, kissed his hand, and pronounced their benedictions on his head. The wonderful páshá, on the other hand, was all kindness, in return, for the honour shewn to him; and a thousand expressions of praise and good wishes were uttered on this memorable occasion.

When the eyes of the Moslems were opened to a clear view of the advantages which God had afforded them, their hearts rejoiced. The awe and terror with which the sight of so immense and desperate a host as that which the enemy presented to their view sometimes inspired them, now vanished completely from their minds. The heart of each of them became firm and strong, like the tower of Alexander, and all of them demanded to be allowed to assault the enemy in their turn.

After the victory had declared itself in favour of the orthodox Moslems, as above described, Mathias and Ferdinand called their princes, and held a council of war. "Although Kaniza was well supplied with water," it was said in the council, "the want of provisions, however, would soon so press upon both its inhabitants and its garrison as to force them to yield. If Turkish troops should happen to come to their aid in their present circumstances, and we are able to beat them off, then Kaniza would doubtless yield without further resistance. Let us winter here," continued the speaker, "but before the winter season breaks let us send away our cannon." The governor of Malta, Don Juan, observed, "that if the cannon be removed, the Turks will rush forth, and leave not a man of us alive upon the earth. Besides," continued he, "though those Turks stationed at Sigetwar may at present have no intention of attacking us, they will, most assuredly, come and do so, when they hear we have sent away our cannon. Without

cannon, we shall not be able to stand any time before them, and as to handling the sword, we can have no chance whatever with them." Such was the manner in which this council of Austrian officers reasoned. They agreed to continue the siege; they increased the number of their guns; they erected a mound round Kaniza, and commenced firing at the rate of two thousand balls per day. These did immense evil. The outer walls were totally demolished. The houses were made level with the ground. But the enthusiastic Moslems, such was their zeal, built up by night the gaps and openings which these heavy cannon effected by day. From the incessant fire which the enemy thus kept up, very many of the Moslems fell martyrs during this period of the siege, in consequence of their unsubdued zeal.

The garrison now began to experience a scarcity of powder. The páshá called his artillery officers and the governor of the castle, and conversed with them concerning this matter. The latter informed him, that the enemy, on their lately retiring, had left an immense quantity of sulphur and saltpetre behind them, which they had carefully removed into Kaniza. It was very easy, he added, to make gunpowder out of these materials. Uzun Ahmed, belonging to the fifth division of janissaries, a Persian youth, and who had been accustomed to make this article, came forward and informed the páshá of his skill in gunpowder, saying, at the same time, it could easily be made by mixing the above-mentioned materials with fine charcoal made of the nut-tree. Charcoal made of the willow, however, would answer the purpose, he said. With this last-mentioned sort of wood Kaniza was surrounded, and, accordingly, orders were immediately issued to cut down for this purpose a sufficient quantity, which was burned, and afterwards powdered in a mortar. A sufficient number of persons were appointed to this department of labour, and every day they delivered new-made gunpowder in such quantities as was required.

But before proceeding any farther, we have to mention the desertion of two of Hasan Páshá's domestics, which bears on this part of our history.

One night, after the enemy had fully resolved on continuing the siege, two of the páshá's under-servants, both of them Hungarians by birth, set off secretly to join their countrymen in the enemy's army. This circumstance very much distressed the besieged, for they had every reason to fear



these deserters would inform the besiegers as to the state of the place. Hasan Páshá, always ready to take those advantages which his own fertile mind was ever sure to point out to him, quieted the fears of his followers, and gave them the most pointed instructions to do what they could in trying to seize one or two prisoners. They brought him several, to whom the páshá addressed himself thus : " I have lately sent two confidential servants to your prince, do you think they have met with his highness ? " " Yes," was the answer ; and then added : " that the karal (the king) asked them as to the number of troops in Kaniza, when they said they did not know, but that they were exceedingly numerous, and that provisions were becoming very scarce in it. Keep up your fire," said the two deserters, " for you have every chance of succeeding." Hasan Páshá again asked them what they supposed might have been the number of Turks which had lately routed them ? Some said twenty, some thirty thousand, answered the prisoners. The páshá then gave orders to have their hands and heads cut off, and delivered them over to Karah Omar Aghá, but previously instructed him to act towards the prisoners as he had done on a former occasion. Omar knew how to act his part. He practised the same kind of deception on these prisoners as he had done on those mentioned before, and, after giving each of them a piece of white bread, sent them off in the same way, telling them that the Hungarian troops had entered secretly into friendly engagements with the troops of Sigetwar ; that the páshá was on the eve of attacking them by night with the troops of Kaniza, whilst those of Sigetwar would attack them from behind at the same moment. " Give my compliments," said Omar, " to the karal, and let him be attentive. In this place we have provisions and gunpowder for a whole year. Let the king direct his movements accordingly." The prisoners returned and related to the karal what they had seen and heard, which displeased him very much.

In the meantime Hasan Páshá called one of his scribes and dictated the following letter to the commander-in-chief, Yemishji Hasan Páshá, wherein he said, after giving him all his high titles, " I have already informed you of the state of our affairs. Thank God, our troops are sufficient in number and in courage, and we have now abundance of gunpowder, though at one time we had reason to fear we should run short of that important article.

The enemy, when they lately retired from our walls, left an immense quantity of sulphur and saltpetre, of which we prepare every day no less a quantity than two talents of gunpowder. Our provisions are in abundance, at least for three months to come. We have, moreover, entered into a friendly intercourse with the Hungarians in the enemy's army. I have just now sent out two of my domestics, Kina'an and Khundán, two Hungarian youths who were brought up in my service, to converse privately with the Hungarians in the enemy's army, and to tell the karal that both the gunpowder and provisions in Kaniza are about finished; they are also instructed to return as soon as they accomplish this business, or at least as soon as they can find a fit opportunity of so doing. These two young men will tell the enemy they have become renegadoes, and the infidels, I have no doubt, will believe them. Be you ready to assist us if we should need your aid, and as soon as the two men return I shall give you due notice: farewell." This letter was sealed, put into a satin bag or case, this was again covered over with a skin, and the whole parcel put into a coarse cloth, and was given to Karah Punjeh, with orders to convey it secretly into the enemy's camp, and lay it down where it might soon be discovered by some of the enemy, who, no doubt, would carry it to their karal as some valuable treasure. Karah Punjeh was ordered, at the same time, to make his way, so soon as he had laid down his packet within the precincts of the enemy's camp, to the commander-in-chief, and request him to come with his troops to the aid of Kaniza. Punjeh proceeded with his secret despatches, dabbed the outside with some mud, found means of throwing it, without being observed, into the enemy's camp, and set off for Sigetwar.

The stratagem succeeded to all the extent the contriver wished it; for the packet was no sooner discovered than it was opened, and the writing within it carried forthwith to the karal. The discoverers told him where they had found it, but could give no account whatever as to the way it had been brought into the camp. The contents of the letter were no sooner read, than suspicion began to be entertained respecting the two deserters from Hasan Páshá. They were actual spies, it was said, and were therefore called to be examined. On being summoned they were asked what situations they had held under the Moslem Páshá, and what were their

names. One of us, said they, is called Kina'an, and the other Khundán; we were brought up in the páshá's service, were circumcised, and we became Muselmans; but now we have embraced the religion of our fathers. Was it true, they were asked, that Kaniza had nearly run short of gunpowder, but that that had been supplied? They said it was true. Why, then, said the interrogators, did you say, when you came to us, that they had little or no gunpowder? The object you had in coming to us is too evident; and without any further enquiry they delivered over the two unfortunate deserters to the executioner, who immediately cut off their heads. These two heads were presented before the walls of Kaniza, and the persons who had thus presented them called out, at the same time, 'that the whole of Hasan Páshá's stratagem had been discovered. The people of Kaniza were no sooner made aware whose the heads had been than they burst out in a fit of laughter, and highly eulogized the wisdom of their páshá.

There is a different version of this story; it is as follows: The páshá one day called together his officers, and desired them to have every gun and musket in the place charged with powder, and to be ready to fire them when a signal was given. This was to be done in token, as it were, of rejoicing. About midnight, accordingly, when the signal *Allah! Allah!* was three times given, all the guns and muskets were fired off, and the voice of rejoicing commenced. The intoxicated infidels, hearing these demonstrations of joy, ran every where in order to discover the cause of it. Hasan Páshá, in the mean time, called the defterdár of Kaniza, Sha'bán Effendí, a very learned man, and after consulting with him for some time in private, desired him to draw out a letter for the commander-in-chief, which was as follows:—"You have at last come to Sigetwar: may your arrival be propitious! The three hundred and fifty janissaries, under the command of an ághá; the one hundred thousand ducats; the one hundred talents of gunpowder; the eighty talents of lead; and the one hundred talents of biscuits, came all, without the least knowledge of the enemy, safe to hand about the middle of the night of last Monday. You have been very generous; but we were not in actual want of any of the things you have sent us. We had provisions for a whole year; our gunpowder was abundant; and we had thirty thousand heroic troops. At the same time, however, we have to

request you to send with our lieutenant, Iskender, fifteen thousand chosen volunteers, to be here early on the morning of Sunday ; but do not you take the trouble of coming yourself. The Hungarian princes in the enemy's camp are our old friends and allies. Thousands of their subjects come over to us every night, and they inform us of what is going on without. We have also entered into compact with thirty thousand Hungarian soldiers in the camp of the enemy, who are under the command of the above princes. On Sunday morning, at daybreak, when Iskender arrives from Sigetwar, we in the garrison of Kaniza and the Hungarians in the camp will all at once commence an assault on the hateful enemy within their strongholds. We hope we shall not be forgotten in your best wishes."

Before this, however, two men had been sent into the enemy's camp with the view of seeking a fit opportunity of assassinating the karal Ferdinand ; but by the providence of God these poor fellows fell martyrs to their zeal. Two other men were sent with a similar purpose ; and one Samúskú was hired to convey a letter, similar also to the one before-mentioned, into the enemy's camp. Great promises of reward were made to this man if he accomplished the undertaking committed to him ; but when he was about half way he threw down the letter on the road, and set off for Perzencha ; next day, however, one of the enemy's cavalry happened to pass that way and found the letter. After looking at it, he perceived it to be written in Turkish, brought it immediately to the karal, and told him he had taken it by force from a Turk he had met on the road ; but that whilst looking at the writing, in order to discover what it might be, the Turk had escaped. An interpreter was called to decypher the contents of the letter. The interpreter said it was a letter from Hasan Páshá to the commander-in-chief, and that it contained some things which it would be improper to make public ; he therefore went aside and explained to the karal the whole of the secrets in it, which absolutely astonished and confounded him to such a degree, that he did not know what to say or do. He called his vezír, and consulted with him on the subject of the letter. The vezír said, "our trusty friend, Karah Omar, among our enemies, sent us information, you well remember, before this, of the defection of the Hungarians. What he said is clearly verified. What steps shall we take ?" "The very first thing to be done," said Fer-

dinand, "is to collect the whole of our tents into one place, surround them with a ditch, then hold a general council, and afterwards slay every one of these Hungarian princes; and if the Turks should offer to attack us, we will give them battle." Thus saying, he rewarded the bearer of the letter with great honours and said, "that had it not been for this letter, so opportunely brought him, he must have fallen into very great difficulties. Christ has had compassion on us," said he; and then ordered the tents to be collected into one place, and a mound to be thrown up around them, as before stated.

Hasan Páshá, perceiving the motions of the enemy, sent out a party by night in order to seize one or two prisoners: they returned with two, and presented them before the illustrious páshá. The páshá spoke kindly to them, and then inquired of them as to the state of affairs in their camp. The prisoners related what they knew: they informed him concerning the impression the letter which had fallen into the karal's hand, as above described, had had on his mind, and that the whole of the Hungarians had fled, leaving all their tents and baggage behind them. This news had such an effect on Hasan's mind that he clasped his hands together. But it was only in appearance. He wet his eyes, and appeared to weep. He asked again and again, whether the account they had given was true. The prisoners affirmed it as frequently; and added, that they themselves had seen the Hungarian tents taken possession of by the rest of the army. Hasan caused a black cloth, moistened with the juice of onions, to be brought to him, with which he occasionally wiped his eyes. This at once gave him, in the sight of the prisoners, the appearance of one weeping and mourning, but it was no more than appearance. After having satisfied himself with questioning the prisoners, he ordered their heads to be cut off, delivered them over to Karah Omar, and instructed him how to act. Omar played his part to perfection. After dealing with them in the same manner as he had done, in similar cases, on two former occasions, which the reader will remember, he sent them away secretly; telling them, at the same time, of the páshá's intended plan of attacking them on the morning of the following Sunday. "There can be no doubt, now that the Hungarians have fled," said the artful Omar, "but the páshá will pay you a visit in the way I have said. Go your ways."

The prisoners returned to their own camp, informed Ferdinand of their history, and what Karah Omar had said to them. Ferdinand was particularly grateful to this man, Karah Omar, who had so frequently duped him; ordered bastions to be every where erected along his ditches; promised each of his artillery-men a reward of a hundred ducats, by way of stimulating their zeal; in short, the enemy began to fire double the number of shots they had formerly done.

We have already related the enemy's determination of wintering at Kaniza, and what preparations they had made for this purpose: also, how Karah Punjeh had deposited the deceptive letter in the enemy's camp, and his subsequent journey to the commander-in-chief to obtain aid for the Kanaizians. The serdár made many promises; ordered the troops under his command to be paid their wages, and said he would set out next morning for Kaniza. His officers, however, remonstrated against his resolution, by alleging that the weather being so very bad the thing could not be even attempted. The serdár appeared determined, and swore to the messengers, Karah Punjeh and his two companions, that though the army to a man should refuse to go to the aid of Kaniza, he and his own suite would most assuredly go. The messengers returned with this answer.

The enemy, as before observed, had surrounded their camp with a ditch. The Austrian and other European troops were separated from the Hungarian army, and the former were determined to reduce Kaniza, whatever it might cost them. The Italian and French soldiers had become so very inveterate, that they said they had come from their own country to die, and that, therefore, they would not remove one step from Kaniza before they had taken it.

On the seventy-fifth day of the siege, about mid-day, the heavens became black with clouds, the wind blew from the south, and soft showers of rain began to fall. Previously to this not a drop had fallen for the space of three months. The rain now increased, and a most bitterly cold wind began to blow, which made the surface of the waters to freeze. Towards evening the rain became mixed with flakes of snow, and about midnight the rain ceased, but the snow continued to fall. This storm continued for three successive days and nights, and the fall of snow was so deep as



to reach a man's waist. The enemy was now in a very sad plight; but they were infatuated, and in their infatuation ceased not from their hostilities.

At length, however, a report spread that the commander-in-chief had come to Sigetwar. The enemy now thought of the contents of the letter which had fallen into their hands, as before related, which were confirmed by the information which the two discharged prisoners brought them from Karah Omar. All was confusion and alarm, and every one became concerned about his own personal safety. One company after another took to their heels. Ferdinand tried to stop the fugitives, but without effect. The condition of the enemy was desperate. The cattle they had for transporting their ordnance had all fled towards Hungary during the storm, and their ordnance remained in the ditches, and could not, of course, be removed. Hasan Páshá knew all this, and determined on attacking them next day. The snow ceased, and the sky became clear and serene; but the sharp wind increased to such a degree as to freeze the river into thick ice. In these circumstances, Hasan Páshá called the famous Karah Omar Aghá, and ordered him to proceed with three hundred chosen men to the enemy's camp, supposing they had all fled. He gave him his own standard. The Berk having been completely frozen over, this detachment found no difficulty in crossing the river, which was scarcely done when they were met by an infidel chief, who earnestly entreated to be taken into Kaniza. He said he wished to embrace Islamism, and stood before them in this imploring attitude with his cap in his hand. Karah Omar conducted him forthwith to the páshá, who perceiving his prisoner to have a richly ornamented head-dress on his head, gave him a chair to sit upon. "I am," said the supplicant, and in answer to the páshá, "a Genoese captain, and commanded in this war a thousand men. Forty thousand pieces of gold, besides other property, I have left behind in my tent, and have come to embrace the Moslem faith." Thus saying, he wept. The páshá immediately placed one of his extra turbans on his convert's head, explained to him the Mohammedan faith, then called his warriors together, and presented the convert in his new dress. To Karah Omar he promised the sanjak of Petchevi. All the cannons and arms in the fortress were now put into a state of readiness

for commencing a pursuit after the enemy; and the whole of the garrison had their eyes turned towards the enemy's quarters. When Karah Omar and his men were within a short distance of the enemy's ditches, all the guns and muskets in the fortress of Kaniza were discharged at one instant. This explosion, along with the sound of drum which accompanied it, as well as the cry of *Allah! Allah!* from every mouth in the garrison, made the poor devils in the enemy's camp creep together with absolute terror. What firmness had remained with them, entirely vanished; they fled in all directions. Ferdinand and Mathias issued from their tents, and endeavoured to rally their troops on the road which led to Sigetwar. Karah Omar, on reaching their advanced trenches, slew nine hundred of them before they had time to escape, and took one hundred and fifty prisoners, whom he sent into the fortress. In these trenches he seized twelve pieces of ordnance, besides other arms and ammunition.

Hasan Páshá despatched other five hundred men to the aid of Karah Omar, who, after having received this augmentation of force, conveyed the whole of the cannon and ammunition which fell into his hands into the fortress.

Next morning Hasan Páshá, after having offered up his devotions, sat down on the gate opposite to Sigetwar, took out two purses, the one containing ducats, the other dollars, and scattered these pieces of money among those of his men who had been the active agents in seizing prisoners, or who had brought in several heads. Eighteen thousand heads, it was conjectured, had thus been brought to him. The páshá, without any unnecessary delay, sent off an account of their wonderful good fortune to the commander-in-chief, and immediately mounting his horse, rode to the enemy's forsaken trenches, and encouraged and praised his men. Only about six hundred remained in the fortress: the rest were all employed either pursuing the fugitive army, or taking possession of their trenches. Four times did Ferdinand try to rally his forces and retake them; but Hasan Páshá, who was now master of them, turned his own guns (about forty in number) against him. Those of the enemy who had kept together made their way to Perzencha, where they found some little time to reflect on what had befallen them. It was now they perceived with some clearness the strata-

gem which the Turks had so effectually laid for them. Again Ferdinand rallied his men, and again attempted to retake his trenches; but Hasan Páshá directed the guns of the fortress, as well as their own, which had been left on the trenches, against them with such effect as again to repulse them with immense slaughter. The field was literally covered with dead bodies. More than thirty thousand heads were again collected, and laid before the páshá. He desired his troops to carry on the pursuit with vigour, and not to lose time in searching the enemy's tents, as they should find time enough for that afterwards. "The enemy, you see," said he, "are abandoning their tents as fast as they are able, but let us try and surprize Ferdinand before he leaves his own." Accordingly, a field-piece was directed against it, but the ball, though it shattered his tent to pieces, and killed a number who were near it, did himself no injury. Ferdinand had now no alternative left him but flight. Accordingly, he; and those who still remained faithful to him, mounted their horses, but were every moment in terror lest the Turks should intercept them and cut them off. In this terror they made to the ford of Paulet, where Ferdinand experienced great difficulty in crossing it, and where a hundred of his few remaining troops perished. Thus did Ferdinand leave the whole of his camp, his ordnance, his treasures, his splendid furniture, and his glory behind him.

Hasan Páshá, after performing his afternoon's devotions, called Meseli Beg and Omar Beg, and ordered them to pursue the fugitives wherever they could find traces of them, but prohibited their taking spoil till the infidels were wholly rooted out, or completely dispersed. After writing out a statement of the successes which had attended the Moslem arms, he sent it off to the commander-in-chief, and then returned to Kaniza.

On the following morning, after offering up his devotions as usual, the páshá mounted his horse, rode to the camp, where he was cheered, saluted, and had his hands kissed by his victorious troops, whom he, in his turn, praised for their heroism and bravery. On entering into Ferdinand's tent, he perceived a lofty throne standing in the midst of it, every where ornamented with silver and gold: its feet and top were garnished and variegated with precious stones and other jewels; a diamond was fixed in each of its supporters, each one of which was equal in value to the revenue of Rám

(Europe or the Roman empire). On each side of this throne were twelve chairs decked with crimson silk, the borders of which were ornamented with pearls and other jewels. In front of the throne was a table about six cubits in length, ornamented and decorated like the former. In this pavilion of grandeur did the pious Hasan Páshá perform his devotions, and returned thanks to God for the victory with which their efforts had been crowned. With tears in his eyes he acknowledged it as a favour from God, and as a sign of their prophet's benevolence, miraculously interposed in their behalf. After having ended this oration, he drew his sword and split the throne into pieces, sat down upon one of these, and his grandees and ághás, according to their rank, sat down on the chairs which surrounded him. He now again pronounced a long oration, and then wrote out a third statement, giving an account of the patience, firmness, union, and other excellent qualities of his men to the commander-in-chief. After having finished his discourse, and had sent away the report to the serdár, he asked who were the first who had entered into Ferdinand's pavilion. Three janissaries and four borderers presented themselves, and said they were the first who had entered it. "Well then," said the noble-minded páshá, "with the exception of the tent itself, and the arms that are in it, all the rest belongs to you." As to the rest of the tents, whether they belonged to Ferdinand or to others, none of them were touched, but were strictly watched till such time as the decision of the commander-in-chief could be obtained. The forty-two pieces of cannon and five falconets which had been taken in the trenches, were most beautifully ornamented by art, each being of considerable value. They had the appearance of ingots of gold, and bore the image of the emperor and of the pope, figures, which one who saw them would have supposed had been executed or contrived by a skilful artist who had studied the *Seher Sámri*.\* Besides this number of cannon, fourteen thousand muskets, and as many spades and mattocks were found in the enemy's camp. Also several gold basins and plates: ten thousand tents besides those which belonged to the superior officers; weapons of all sorts and sizes; large and small drums, trumpets, bells, chests, waggon, and

\* *سحر سامري*, or the magic of Samri, who, according to Mohammed, induced the children of Israel to worship the golden calf in the absence of Moses.

carriages fell into the hands of the victorious Moslems ; but the number of all these things together is only known to the Creator of men and angels. A vast quantity of articles of less value fell also a prey to the conquerors, but it is not possible to describe them all. As to articles of provision, which the enemy had left behind them, it was quite wonderful. Viands and wine were found preserved in silver and Chinese vessels ; medicaments cherished by caranfil (cloves), sweetmeats, other kinds of eatables mixed with ferment, ginger, electuaries, and many other sorts, as much as would supply the garrison of Kaniza for a whole year. The whole of the cannon and arms were transported by order of the páshá into the fortress.

We have already noticed that Karah Omar Aghá, after the páshá had augmented his party, was ordered to pursue the fugitive enemy. He did so. As many of the enemy as had succeeded in reaching the ford of Paulet were totally panic-struck, when they perceived Karah Omar with his party of men pressing towards them. They threw away what heavy baggage had yet remained to them, crossed the ford in the utmost hurry and confusion, and took with them what they esteemed most valuable. The Moslem pursuers slackened not their pace, crossed the ford after them, and coming up to them, slew many of them. The fugitives were now obliged, in order to escape with their lives, to throw away every thing by which they had been encumbered, and even their arms, and took to their heels as fast as they were able. It was not known how many of them had perished, but about six thousand of the better sort of them fell by the hands of their valiant pursuers. Several of their captains were conveyed back to the páshá ; but as the number of the prisoners which were thus brought were too many to be retained, the páshá gave orders to cut off the heads of all who were afterwards brought in on the ditches, and to throw their bodies into the river. Some of the prisoners, when they were asked the cause of their signal defeat and dispersion, attributed it to the effect which the letters that had been conveyed into their camp had had on their minds. A fearful terror, said they, seized us, and we began to imagine we saw nothing but troops of Turks with green turbans coming to your aid, and attacking us in conjunction with you.

In this memorable retreat, Don Juan, Hersog of Malta, finding it impos-

sible to escape the danger of being taken prisoner, stripped off his clothes, wrapped himself up in a shabby coverlet, and lay four days in a ditch, pretending he was wounded. On the fifth day of the retreat, some men belonging to Zerin Oghlí, who had come from Mekomuriah to inquire into the state of matters, chanced to pass the ditch where this helpless Hersog lay. He implored them to extricate him, which they did, and carried him to Zerin Oghlí, who, when he learned who he was, showed him great respect, and sent him away to his own country.

The loss sustained by the enemy in this campaign was truly great: seventy or eighty thousand infidels, at the very least, must have perished. Those Italian and German foot soldiers who escaped the sword of the victorious Moslems, fell down on the roads benumbed with cold, and remained there. The few naked and weeping wretches who had been so fortunate as to reach their own countries, did so only with their lives.

Karah Omar Aghá of Petchevi relates the following story: "When we were in pursuit of the infidels, flying before us, we sometimes came up to ten or fifteen of them sitting and warming themselves before fires which they had made; but, when they saw us approaching, they started up upon their legs, took off their hats, and made obeisance to us. The fact is, we were weary of cutting and slashing the poor wretches, and therefore did not think it manly to kill men who were thus vanquished and suffering like those just now mentioned. The like of these creatures we passed, and went on slaughtering and hewing down all such as still had the hardihood to carry arms. The vast quantity of articles of value, as well as of arms, which the fugitives threw away, in their hurry to escape, strewed the roads every where, and it required two months' time before they could be all collected and brought to Kaniza."

Karah Omar Aghá was rewarded for his services in this campaign with the sanjak of Petchevi.

*Some further account of the affairs relative to Kaniza.—The arrival of the Commander-in-chief at Sigetwar.*

The commander-in-chief, Yemishji Hasan Páshá, notwithstanding the opposition which had been manifested against his marching towards Kaniza,



during the cold season, forced his way as far as Sigetwar. After the weather had become more intensely cold, a spirit of envy and insubordination began to manifest itself among his troops. They assembled together in a tumultuous manner, and attacked the commander-in-chief's tent with stones; and three days afterwards, when order seemed to have been restored, they broke loose and set off for Belgrade. This took place on the 12th of Jemadi II. However, the commander-in-chief received a letter from Hasan which announced to him the success which had been obtained over the enemy in their expulsion from Kaniza, and which gave him great joy. On the same day, towards evening, he received another from the same quarter, intimating the complete dispersion and defeat of the whole of the enemy's army, a copy of which he immediately transmitted to Constantinople. He afterwards issued orders to the various troops to go into winter-quarters. He himself remained at Shuklúshkah. On the 15th of the above month, one division of the troops, on its return, reached the bridge of Usk, and passed over in safety; but the next division was not quite so fortunate. Owing to the great and severe frost which had commenced, the river Drave was frozen over, and on the 20th, when the next division was crossing this bridge, it fell. All that were on it, at the time, perished. It was repaired, however, in two or three days afterwards.

Hasan Páshá, the celebrated governor of Kaniza, went to Shuklúshkah to pay his respects to the commander-in-chief, who, in return, showed to the heroic Páshá every mark of esteem, and granted a favourable reception to every request he made to him. The government of Kústendil was conferred on Meselí Beg, and Korah Omar Aghá was confirmed in the sanjakship of Petcheví. To each of the veteran soldiers who sustained the siege along with him five pieces of money were allowed, besides the provisions which were due. Hasan Páshá dispatched his lieutenant, Iskender Páshá, to court, whose arrival there gave the emperor the sincerest joy. He approved of the distribution and appointments which had been made, and raised Hasan to be one of his favourite vezírs. Three robes of honour, a richly ornamented sword, and three beautiful horses, were sent as presents to the celebrated páshá. The commander-in-chief, in like manner, conferred marks of esteem upon him, and sent his lieutenant, Mustafa Khetkodá,

to Petchévi, to furnish provisions for Kaniza, and then set out for Belgrade.

In consequence, however, of the violence of the mountain-like masses of ice which drifted down the Save, the bridges on that river were broken down, and the returning troops had to cross it in boats. In this journey they suffered great hardship, and had to overcome many difficulties before they reached Belgrade. About this time the ághá of the janissaries, Alí Aghá, was sent to Constantinople in order to negotiate a marriage between Yemishjí Hasan Páshá, the commander-in-chief and prime minister to the Ottoman emperor, and the sultana, the widow of the late prime minister, Ibrahim Páshá.

The following is a copy of a letter from the grand sultán to Hasan Páshá in reference to his brave and wise conduct during the siege of Kaniza. After having referred to the great glory which had accrued this year, by his instrumentality, to the Ottoman empire, he says, that the celebrated name of his choice servant, his prudent vezír, the beglerbeg of Kaniza, Hasan Páshá, was to be inserted among the other great and celebrated names recorded in the annals of the empire. He then proceeds: "I have appointed you a vezír; and may my servants who were with you in the siege of Kaniza, and who, in a peculiar sense, are my children, receive a benediction; who, beyond all conception, exemplified the most strenuous courage, not regarding their own lives in their faithfulness to their religion and to us; who in the most arduous struggle of human exertion never once flinched from the dangers of either fire or water; who manfully and heroically maintained their ground on the batteries of Kaniza; who in open battle, on the field of blood, discomfited, routed the hateful enemy, and hewed them down whenever they attempted to rally; who caused the iron-cased host to fly, leaving all their valuables a prey to their pursuers; and, in one word, who acquired peculiar glory by their unexampled heroism. We therefore request that in every thing they continue to manifest towards you the most implicit obedience, which will secure to them our approbation. You will read this letter, which contains the expression of our will, in the presence of our brave veterans, and cause them to understand it. We sanction, by our royal authority, the distribution of

money, &c. to be made to our servants at Kaniza under your command. We commend you all to the true God."

The day on which this letter was read in Hasan Páshá's diván there was not one in it who did not weep; and many a kind and benevolent wish was offered up for the happiness of the emperor of the Moslems. This solemn scene was afterwards changed into that of joy, the demonstrations of which were every where manifested. Three full months were spent in collecting and bringing into Kaniza the cannon, arms, ammunition, tents, &c. which the enemy had left behind them.

Many of the illustrious European young men who were employed in this war lost their hands and feet by reason of the severe frost; and several of them were killed in order to relieve them from pain and sufferings. The Franks formerly mentioned purchased, at a low price, about two hundred of the Spanish and Italian prisoners.

Before the spring of the following year commenced, about three thousand villages put themselves under the protection of the Ottomans; and more than two thousand peasants came from Usk, from Puzgha, from Petchévi, from Shuklúwish, and from Bosnia, to repair the fortress of Kaniza. Its outer works these labourers greatly enlarged and strengthened with trees cut down for the purpose. They surrounded the whole with a line of fortifications; erected minarets on its walls; built a mosque, a palace, and an arsenal within the citadel; erected sheds over the guns, and made a new bath. The successful warriors, however, never ceased to make excursions into the enemy's territories, almost as far as Vienna, and uniformly returned with much booty and many captives.

*State of matters in the East.—Concerning Scrivano.*

It had been determined by the court of Constantinople that Hájí Ibrahim Páshá should go and have an interview with the late governor of Baghdád, Hasan Páshá, the commander-in-chief in the east, and, along with him, attack Karah Yázejí (Scrivano). Instead of paying regard to these injunctions, however, he marched directly to Cæsarea, where he gave the rebels battle, was routed, and at last obliged to take refuge in the fortress of Cæsarea. When Hasan Páshá heard of this terrible disaster, he, without

loss of time, removed to Elbastan on the 12th of Sefer of this year, met the rebel army at a place called Sepetlú, where he arranged his troops in order of battle. The enemy did not decline the combat. Early next morning at sunrise the two armies commenced a bloody contest, which continued without intermission till after mid-day, when victory declared itself in favour of Hasan Páshá. The rebels were routed with great slaughter, leaving one third of their number, which had amounted to 30,000, lifeless on the field of battle, besides the whole of their tents and baggage. Karah Yázeji fled with the remnant of his broken forces into the Janbeg mountains, where he fortified himself. The victorious páshá pursued the rebels as far as Tokat.

*Some other events of this year.—Karah Yázeji dies in the mountains of Janbeg.*

Towards the end of Jemadi II. information was brought to the Moslem authorities by some of the rebel chiefs, that Karah Yázeji had died in the mountains, whither he had fled, in the month of Ramazán, but that his brother, Delí Hasan, had succeeded him in the command of the rebels.

Háfiz Ahmed Páshá, third vezír and the governor of Anatolia, passed over to Uskadár (Scutari) and proceeded to Kutahia. On the 12th of Shevál the kálmakám, Khalíl Páshá, was removed from office, and was succeeded by Hasan Páshá, who at that time was the third vezír.

On the same day, *i. e.* on the 12th of Shevál, Yemishjí Hasan Páshá's commissioner, Alí Aghá, ághá of the janissaries, who had been sent to Constantinople to contract a marriage between the commander-in-chief and Ayesha Sultaná, the relict of the late grand vezír, Ibrahim Páshá, met along with Yemenlí Hasan Aghá, the vezír's own deputy, and Abdí Chelebi, secretary of the customs, and fixed the dowry at four thousand ducats. After the contract was settled and sealed, one Nesúh Aghá was sent to Belgrade with the marriage documents to the serdár. Nesúh, who had lost his commission among the spáhís, expected, on this occasion, either to be raised to the ágháship of the janissaries, or to be made chief master of the horse, what he was before; but neither of these offices could be conferred on him at that time: he was, however, made a kapújí báshí. This same Nesúh Aghá afterwards attained the rank of páshá, and became, in the end, prime minister; but we shall have to speak of him in the sequel.

On the 20th of Dhu'l kadah Alí Aghá left the Sublime Porte with his troops and marched for Belgrade.

*Concerning the rebel Delí Hasan, the brother of Karah Yázejí.—Hasan Páshá, the commander-in-chief, falls a martyr.*

It is recorded by Sháh Verdí, who had been deputy or lieutenant to Karah Yázejí, that when Karah Yázejí died, as already observed, his followers took his body, and cutting it into pieces, afterwards buried it in separate and distinct places, in order that the Osmánlís might not have it in their power to burn it.

This same Verdí, Yolar Kapdí, and one Túyel, all three noted rebels, joined the insurgent Delí Hasan, after the death of his brother, when they left the mountains of Janbeg with an insurgent army of several thousand men, with the view of intercepting and seizing Hasan Páshá's heavy baggage whilst on its way from Diárbeker. The páshá not having many troops along with him at this time, did not venture to give battle to these desperate mountaineers, but fortified himself as well as he was able in the fortress of Tokat. The city and suburbs, however, were subjected to the cruelty of these barbarians, who not only robbed and plundered wherever they were able, but also destroyed the páshá's beautiful flower-garden. Not satisfied with all these excesses, they determined to attack the citadel and seize the páshá himself. For this purpose they encamped on the outside of the city. Information of the insurgent army having determined to lay siege to the fortress of Tokat having reached the court of Constantinople, the governor of Diárbeker, Khosrú Páshá, was created a vezír, and ordered to proceed with the army of Kurdistán and oppose the progress of the insurgents. No person, however, had sufficient courage to inform Hasan Páshá that his office was conferred on Khosrú Páshá.

In the meantime the insurgents, after continuing the siege for about a month, had every prospect of succeeding in their attempts. Hasan Páshá was in the habit of going every morning and sitting on a seat in a certain place opposite the gate of the fortress, a circumstance which was some way or other made known to the rebels. They accordingly watched him, when one of them aimed his piece at him and shot him dead on the spot.

Delí Hasan wished no more, raised the siege, and set out on a predatory excursion into Anatolia. The property of Hasan Páshá which had fallen into the hands of the rebels they distributed amongst them; and their power soon waxed so very considerable, that for the space of seven or eight years they ruled the country with a rod of iron.

Yávuz Alí Aghá was made válí of Egypt this year. This same year, also, a letter from the king of France was received, in which complaint was made of the injuries which some of his subjects had sustained from pirates belonging to some of the Turkish islands. The Turkish government immediately issued the strongest prohibitions against this traffic, and threatened to punish with rigour every instance of transgression of this kind which should happen to come to its knowledge.

We have still to observe one other circumstance before commencing to relate the events of the following year. During the time that Khalíl Páshá was governor or deputy of Constantinople, the ulemá assembled together, waited on his excellency, and demanded justice against the spáhís for the disturbance and tumult which they had been the means of raising in the metropolis lately. A report of the whole of their proceedings was laid before his majesty, who issued a royal letter relative to this meeting.

Ibrahím Khán, the valas padishah, was this year subdued by Sháh Abbas.\*

#### EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1011, H.

##### *Hasan Páshá recovers Alba Julia.*

Towards the end of the preceding year the páshá made every preparation for commencing a new campaign in the beginning of this year. A new bridge was erected on the Save: he was joined by the ághá of the janisaries from Constantinople about the commencement of Moharrem, and troops from all quarters poured into his camp. The troops that accompanied the ághá from the metropolis received double wages: provisions were distributed, and vessels laden with the same article were sent off for

\* The translator feels at a loss to discover who this valas padishah was, but thinks the writer meant to convey some sentiment under the form of a metaphor. The words of the text are:

ولاس پادشاهی ابراهیم خان بوسالده شاه عباس بنجه سته گرفتار اولمشدر



Buda. The royal camp, in the greatest haste, removed from Belgrade and arrived at Serim on the 15th of the month. Badalooshka cannon were transported from Buda to the camp, and on the 22nd Alba Julia was put under siege. Lála Mohammed Páshá, from Buda, encamped on the south side, in front of the city; the grand vezír (*i. e.* the commander-in-chief, Yemishjí Hasan Páshá) took up his position on one side, and the ághá of the janissaries, with nine pieces of ordnance, presented himself before the gate. Mohammed Páshá, with the army of Romeili and five pieces of ordnance, and Dervish Páshá, the beglerbeg of Bosnia, with the army of Buda, entered into entrenchments, and immediately erected mounds. Three thousand chosen men and four thousand pioneers were under the immediate eye of the grand vezír. After a few days of constant battering, the besieging army sprung four mines, which had some considerable effect, and soon afterwards they took possession of the large tower, but were obliged to relinquish it. The enemy, besides, had formed a kind of wall or mound within their ramparts, which served to protect them against the besieging army's artillery. No great progress had hitherto been made.

On the 17th of the month Sefer, about the hour of dinner, and the hot part of the day, a servant of Mohammed Páshá started suddenly upon his feet, seized a standard, ran in the greatest haste to the tower, and fixed it on its top. The janissaries and others no sooner saw this, than they immediately went and took possession of it, causing the few men who watched it to fly. The enemy, however, continued to trust to their strong bulwarks, and thought themselves safe. They were miserably mistaken. The Moslem and orthodox warriors opened upon them a brisk fire of musketry, which drove them from their position. Mohammed Páshá succeeded in getting into the city and took it. When the serdár heard that his troops had taken the tower before-mentioned, he ordered his tent to be immediately erected near it.

The enemy perceiving the progress of the besiegers, and that they were assaulting them, in fact, from every quarter, fled into the inner fortress. This last refuge of theirs was attacked in its turn. By means of mounds which they soon raised for their own protection, they were enabled to effect some mines, which they had no sooner ignited than one of the towers was

blown into the air and a sufficient breach made. The courage of the poor devils when they saw this gave way, and they offered to yield up the place. A certain number of their chief officers came out and received, as on former occasions, garments and were sent off with the rest of the military of Alba Julia to their own countries. The victorious Moslems, after taking possession of this important place, placed a sufficient garrison in it, and the rest of their troops returned to Buda about the end of the month last mentioned.

*The Commander-in-chief conducts an expedition into Transylvania.*

In consequence of the woiwoda of Transylvania having, contrary to all law and justice, entered by violence into a fortress belonging to Sekul Múrish, one of the independent princes of Transylvania, where he seized on its treasures and arms, and slew the men who were in it, the above prince, during the winter season, came to the serdár and solicited his aid, promising he would, if thus supplied with sufficient means, subdue the whole of the region of Transylvania under the Mohammedan yoke. The serdár placed confidence in his promises, and therefore determined to aid him in person. All this had taken place before the reduction of Alba Julia, for which, however, the serdár was preparing when the above prince came to him.

The serdár, or commander-in-chief, having fully achieved what he was at that time preparing for, as related in the preceding section, and having no reason to expect danger from any quarter, passed over from Buda to the plains of Pest. The infidels' camp was at a place called Jegirdelin, opposite to Osterghún.

As the orthodox Moslems used to call out every evening, *Allah! Allah!* so also the infidels cried out from one certain place, every morning and evening, the word *Yeshú*, and immediately after this discharged their large cannon. *Yeshú* is a corruption of *Isa* (Jesus) in the gospel. The sound of the guns fired by the infidels was heard at Pest.

Súfi Sinán Páshá was appointed commandant of Buda, for Kázi Zádeh Ali Páshá, the beglerbeg of Buda, who had been present at the siege of Alba Julia, was there wounded by a musket-ball, and carried off the field in

a litter or sledge. This Ali Páshá came along with Hábel Effendí, the cazi of Buda, to the serdár, and remonstrated against leaving Buda defenceless. You will not be two stages distant, said they, before the infidels will come and surround us. The danger of this circumstance seemed to press very much upon their imagination, and they did not fail to paint it in lively colours to the serdár. "Though it be perfectly true," said the serdár in return, "that we hear the sound of the enemy's cannon, yet it would be very unwise to leave Ardil Oghlí (*i. e.* the prince of Transylvania) in possession of Lipovah and Yanovah in the jurisdiction of Temiswar. There are only about six or seven thousand troops in the enemy's camp, and their object is to terrify the Moslem army from entering Transylvania. They are not sufficiently strong to offer to attack you. You have no reason whatever to fear they will do so; be therefore easy in your minds on this score." Thus did the serdár endeavour to soothe their terrors; but Ali Páshá replied: "My lord, allow me to inform you that some spies sent out by me returned last night, and informed me that there are more than eighty thousand soldiers and forty pieces of ordnance in the enemy's camp, and that their object is to attack Buda. Let Hábel Effendí note down what I have now said, and if it turns out to be false, then you may take what vengeance you please on me." Yemishjí Páshá himself, a proud obstinate Albanian, remained immoveable in maintaining his own assertions, *viz.* that the enemy had no other view than merely to frighten them from entering Transylvania, and that they had neither strength nor intention to attack Buda. In the meantime, when Mohammed Páshá, beglerbeg of Romeili, perceived the serdár's obstinacy, he asked to be permitted to make an excursion as far as Filk and Sitchan, and carry thence what plunder he might be able to take. His request was not acceded to; and the following day, the first of Rabia II., the serdár marched off for Solnuk, which he reached in four days, carrying along with him five pieces of cannon and one hundred sháhs (a kind of smaller ordnance). In four days more he crossed the Tise, and on the 11th of the same month reached the palanka of Sarwash. The troops of Julia and Temiswar joined his camp at this place; but he had scarcely time to hold a council of his great men, when, behold! messengers with evil intelligence from Buda waited upon him.

*Pest taken.—Buda is besieged.*

The enemy had no sooner heard of the commander-in-chief's movements than they began to put their cannon in order for marching. King Ferdinand ordered his Hungarian, Croatian, and Frank army, and various captains to advance before him. On arriving at Old Buda, they crossed over to the island of Kislar, by means of a bridge of boats, thence proceeded in boats to Pest, destroyed its bridge, and entered it on the side next the river, where there happened to be no wall. On the land side they planted their artillery. With the exception of a company of Moslems who had occupied a large tower on the banks of the Danube, and who had escaped by means of boats, the whole of the rest, men, women, and children, fell into the hands of the invaders. About five thousand of these hateful infidels were left in possession of Pest, whilst the rest of their army returned and encamped before Old Buda, and took possession of a palanka called Kiris Elias which belonged to it. At Gul Baba, opposite the great earthen tower, they placed ten pieces of cannon, and opened entrenchments before the gates which open towards Vienna and Awa, and thus commenced the siege of Buda.

The messengers who, post haste, brought intelligence of the enemy's movements to the serdár, found him, as before mentioned, engaged in holding a council of his great men at Sarwash. The serdár, as may easily be imagined, became absolutely frantic with rage when he learned from the messenger the state of things at Buda. Without a moment's delay, however, he ordered off two thousand chosen men under the command of Núh Páshá, the beglerbeg of Anatolia, to the aid of Buda, whilst he himself followed the body of his army. In four days he reached Pest, and encamped in its neighbourhood. Here he was soon made to perceive that the enemy was hotly engaged in endeavouring to reduce Buda, battering its walls with no less than twenty-eight pieces of ordnance; nor were they in the least degree alarmed by the approach of the Moslem forces. Pest, too, was filled with the enemy's troops, and therefore, at that time, not easily taken. They also erected a kind of bridge between Kizlar áta and the last-mentioned place; and thus effectually hindered all communications between the Moslem army and Buda.

The obstinate Albanian (the commander-in-chief) now found more than sufficient reason to repent his having left Buda. To no good purpose whatever he opened ten pieces of artillery in one or two places against Pest. He disposed his line of entrenchments in such a way as that the people of Buda could easily salute their brethren near Pest. The one besieged, the other besieging. The Moslems, however, contrived to erect four badalooshkas, by means of which they broke down the bridge the enemy had erected at Pest, and thus prevented any further intercourse with it; but it was the cause of a greater increase of the enemy's number at Buda.

During the space of fifteen days the Moslem camp before Pest experienced the most dreadful hardships for want of provisions. One kileh (a measure) of flour sold for twenty pieces of gold, and one of barley for fifteen, and when no more could be had for any price, the troops were obliged to be supplied, though at the utmost risk, from Buda. This was secretly accomplished by boats, which were sent over from under the water-gate. The Budians, however, began to murmur, and remonstrated against supplying them with an article which they themselves might soon be in need of. All further supply of this kind was, therefore, prohibited; but this prohibition was, notwithstanding, found ineffectual. Some for the love of money sold provisions, and others there were who sent a supply to their friends.

At length, Ali Páshá, the same who counselled the commander-in-chief against leaving Buda when he went on his fruitless expedition into Transylvania, Hábel Effendí, Ali Páshá's coadjutor, and the ághá of the janissaries, went to the serdár and told him plainly they would not afford any further supply of provisions. "If you," said they, "continue ten days longer, all the provisions in Buda will be exhausted: send us, therefore, Mohammed Páshá with a certain number of troops, and do you go away altogether." Mohammed Páshá seemed at first inclined to decline this proposal, but afterwards said, that he had been two years already in Buda, but that if he was ordered to remain another year in it he would endeavour to do his duty. The Budians fell upon their knees and begged him to accept of the office; they also petitioned the serdár himself, and kissed his beard; so earnest were they that Mohammed Páshá should remain with them. The

serdár condescended to grant them their request. One thousand men whose pay had been advanced, and one thousand feudatory troops were appointed to Buda, besides military stores and money. He also sent a robe of honour to Mohammed Páshá. After the hour of the afternoon prayers, Yemishjí Hasan Páshá turned his face towards his barks, moved away on foot, bidding adieu to scenes which reflected no honour on his military skill, prudence, or courage.

Mohammed Páshá was a man of grave deportment, chaste manners, and an officer of inflexible firmness and of great courage. When in the siege, if any of his troops raised a commotion on account of the scarcity of provisions, he used to beat them most soundly, and then reprove them for their rashness. Not one, in fact, ever ventured to show him any resistance, such was the influence he maintained amongst his troops.

After the serdár took his leave, the troops destined for Buda entered that place at the water-gate under covert of the night: their ordnance was also conveyed during the same period.

Next day, the 1st of Rabia II., the commander-in-chief, Yemishjí Hasan Páshá, passed through Keshkemet, and arrived at Waradin. Four large cannon which he took with him were dragged along by his soldiers; but he left two of them at Sonbúr, and the remaining two at Batchka. Passing over the bridge at Waradin he pursued his journey towards Belgrade.

In the meantime, Mohammed Páshá, after entering Buda, held a council of his officers, to whom he delivered a comforting and encouraging speech, and then dismissed them by telling them to go, every man, to his respective post. Next morning, at day-break, five hundred horsemen were selected and sent out towards Awa, near which they dispersed two pickets belonging to the enemy. Some of them they killed, and others of them they made prisoners. The enemy, as before observed, had placed a number of their cannon at Kiris Elias, and for the space of ten successive days battered the walls and made several assaults, but they were uniformly met and repulsed by showers of musketry, and the hurling of bombs from the besieged. One day, when they thought they would carry every thing before them by one general assault, the brave and orthodox Moslems, as related in



the Memoirs of Soleimán Páshá, rolled amongst them a number of bombs charged with pieces of iron, which, when they exploded, destroyed several thousands of the assailants, and completely repulsed them. After this last, but very effectual check had been given to them, they began to dig beneath the gate which looked towards Vienna, with the view of laying mines, and in the most desperate manner and with the utmost fury directed no less than two thousand cannon-shot against the walls, by which means they at last effected a large breach. The situation of the besieged was now truly perilous. But the brave, heroic, and orthodox Moslems were determined to maintain their resistance, or die in making that resistance. With this view, and in the solemn hour of night, they entered into a sacred compact with each other to devote themselves to death in defending Buda.

On the 10th of Rabia II., and in conformity to the counsel of their brave commander, Mohammed Páshá, all the foot and horse that were in the garrison at daybreak, rushed out of Buda with the utmost impetuosity, and attacked the enemy unawares in their own entrenchments, with such heroic bravery as absolutely confounded them. The enemy's camp or tábúr having been at some distance, it was not easy for those in the entrenchments to get aid from thence, and before any did arrive, the orthodox Moslems, for the space of two hours, committed such tremendous havoc amongst them as to clear the entrenchments of these intruders. Their cannon they spiked, and carried off the greater part of their gunpowder to Buda, to which they had retreated, exploding what they could not conveniently carry along with them. The cazí of Buda, Hábel Effendí, an old man about eighty years of age, in order to encourage the orthodox believers, such was his zeal, slew an infidel with his own hands, a circumstance, no doubt, that made a deep impression on the minds of the Musselmans, and which had a powerful effect in urging them on to the work of destruction.

A shower of rain coming on about this time, and the season having been far advanced, the infidels, in rage and despair, raised the siege and set off for Osterghún, dragging their cannon along with them through the mud which had been occasioned by the rain. The heroic Moslems, perceiving their advantages, pursued the fugitive host, captured a number of their cannon, which in their hurry they had been obliged to leave sticking in the

mud, and brought them back to Buda. Mohammed Páshá rewarded each of his brave men with tokens of his esteem and approbation, and sent a representation of the whole exploit to the commander-in-chief, Yemishjí Hasan Páshá.

Mohammed Páshá was about this time promoted to the government of Romeili.

*Ghází Gherái Khán arrives with a Tátár army.*

The grand vezír, Hasan Páshá, (i.e. Yemishjí Hasan Páshá, the commander-in-chief,) after passing through Waradin, arrived in the plains of Zimrún, where he learned that Ghází Gherái Khán, who for a good while past had not attended the wars, had arrived. It would appear that in consequence of his malicious brothers, Salámet Gherái, Mohammed Gherái, and Sháhín Gherái, who had excited rebellion and insubordination among the Tátárs, one party of whom had gone into Romeili, and another to Anatolia, where they joined the rebel Delí Hasan, the brother of Scrivano, the khán had found sufficient employment at home. He was much afraid also that his brother, who had joined Delí Hasan, would succeed with the latter in endeavouring to deprive him of the khánship. On these accounts his highness, the khán of the Crimea, had found it impracticable for the last two years to render any service to the Ottomans, and thinking there was some reason to suspect the emperor might be displeased with him, and therefore depose him, he, to avert those evils, came forward with an army on this occasion, had an interview with the serdár in the above plains, and accompanied him to Belgradé.

His royal highness the Tátár khán lodged in the mansion belonging to Etmekjí Zádeh, the treasurer. For two successive days the serdár and he entertained each other in the most splendid manner. Petchevi was pointed out to the khán for his winter-quarters; and Sigetwar, Kopan, Mehaj, and other cantons beyond the Drave, were appointed for a similar purpose to his men. The khán departed for Petchevi, and his men were distributed in the above-mentioned towns and villages. His royal highness the khán passed his time in every sort of indulgence and pleasure, amusing himself occasionally in reading the good and bad poets of Baghdad. Here he composed an

epistle in verse on the evils of coffee and wine. He was still haunted, however, by the fear of his brother Salámet Gherái, who, he was aware, meditated his downfall.

After the grand vezír had reached Belgrade, as already mentioned, he ordered the troops to be paid their wages. The household troops received their usual allowance; the feudatory troops received each man two pieces of money, and the foot soldiers one. The ághá of the janissaries was permitted to return to Constantinople, and the feudatory troops were also allowed to retire.

#### EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1012, H.

*Advantage gained by the rebel Delí Hasan.—Mahmúd Páshá is appointed in the room of Khosrú Páshá.*

We have before mentioned how the rebel Delí Hasan, towards the conclusion of the preceding year, murdered Hasan Páshá in the city of Tokat, and we have also related his subsequent march into Anatolia. The beglerbeg of Diárbeker, vezír Khosrú Páshá, who had been sent with the troops of Haleb and Meræsh, to chastise this notorious rebel, failed in the attempt. Some of the above troops having refused obedience to his authority, left him, and went to Sivas. The rest, on seeing this, under the pretence that winter had arrived, dispersed themselves also, and left him without a man.

An account of these disastrous events having found its way to Angora (Ancyra), where the rebel then was, he hastened forward with the utmost boldness to attack Háfiz Páshá, who commanded in Anatólia. When Háfiz, who was by no means in a condition to face this formidable enemy, heard of his movements, he shut himself up in Kutáhia. The rebel advanced and laid siege to the city: but after three days' effort, in consequence of cold and rain, was obliged to raise the siege; but he set fire to the place, and set off for Karah Hisár, where he went into winter-quarters.

As soon as the Ottoman court had heard of these inauspicious affairs, it appointed Guzilshá Mahmúd Páshá to succeed Khosrú Páshá in the chief command. This appointment took place in the month of Rajab.

*Several changes take place.*

In consequence of some malicious instigation of the soldiery, Saa'tjî Hasan Pâshâ was removed from the kâimakâmship, and Guzelshâh Mahmûd Pâshâ was appointed in his stead. These changes took place on the 20th of Rajab. Alî Aghâ, ághâ of the janissaries, was also deposed, and his office conferred on Delî Ferhâd Aghâ, a bostánjî bâshî. Saa'tjî Pâshâ was conducted to the Seven Towers. On the night of the 22d, the mufti, Mohammed Effendî, was deprived of his high office, which was conferred on Sinâ-allah Effendî. This is the second time this reverend prelate held this highest office of the priesthood. On this same occasion also the cazî of Constantinople, Abdulmâmin Mustafa Effendî, was appointed to succeed the cazî of Anatolia, Abdûl Wahâb, who had been in Egypt, and who now became cazî of Constantinople in room of the former.

*Concerning Ghaznafer Aghâ and Osmân Aghâ, ághâ of the palace.*

On the 23d of Rajab the spâhî legion requested his majesty, the emperor, to call a general divân for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of the empire, every where torn and afflicted with rebellion and insubordination. His majesty complied with this requisition. Accordingly, the mufti, Sinâallah Effendî, the kâimakâm, Mohammed Pâshâ, Siderin Akhî Zâdeh, Abdûl Mâmin Mustafa Effendî, and the ulemâ, of all ranks, in all about thirty in number, met in council. On the part of the spâhîs, Hasan Khalifeh, Poirâs Osmân, and the secretary Iksâmî presented themselves before the royal divân and spoke thus: "Sire, in consequence of the war which you find necessary to carry on at a distance, the glory of the royal house is impaired, and its dignity is diminished. The empire, from one end to the other, is trampled upon. The government of Erzerûm is subjected to Gusah Nefer Pâshâ's soldiery and levends (a kind of volunteers); the government of Sivas is under the oppressive rule of Ahmed Pâshâ; Caramania is in the power of Delî Hasan; the sanjaks of Merzefûn, of Kostamûnî, and of Kankarî, in like manner, are in the hands of the rebels Tevlî and Karah Seyed. The insurgents and rebels have seized the whole world. Five or six times a commander-in-chief has been appointed, but no good result has followed;

nothing has been accomplished." After talking a great deal in this manner, and pointing out the injustice and corruption which had crept into the administration, they adverted to one or two flagrant instances as proofs of their assertions. It was with great difficulty that Saa'tjî Hasan Pâshâ, who had been confined in the Seven Towers, escaped undergoing the extreme sentence of the law on this occasion. The fourth vezîr, Tarnâkjî Pâshâ, was also brought forth, and would have undergone the sentence of death; but in consequence of the intercession of the janissaries he was pardoned. The kapû âghâ, Ghaznafer Aghâ, who had been the means of raising Khosrû Pâshâ and Osmân Aghâ, the âghâ of the palace, who were afterwards presented, were not so fortunate. The emperor, when all these transactions were over, returned to the haram or seraglio, whilst the exclamations of the people ascended to the very heavens in his behalf. The populace soon after dispersed themselves.

*Yemishjî Hasan Pâshâ returns to Constantinople.*

Soon after the grand vezîr, Yemishjî Hasan Pâshâ, had dismissed the khân of the Tâtârs, to go into winter-quarters at Petchevî, he delivered over to Lâla Mohammed Pâshâ the whole of the affairs of the frontiers. The magazines of provisions and other stores in Belgrade he committed to Et-mekjî Zâdeh, the treasurer, and to Mohammed Pâshâ; and appointed his own lieutenant, Mustafa Aghâ, to collect provisions in the districts of Bosnia and Buda.

Having heard of the late transactions in Constantinople which had been occasioned by the spâhîs, he imagined, and not without good reasons, that he was in danger of losing his own life; he therefore took a company of unemployed servants along with him, and set out for Constantinople. On reaching Yaghodina he was met by Hasan Aghâ, a kapûjî bâshî, who informed him that Sinâallah Effendî, in compliance with the wishes of the spâhîs, had been created muftî. Another messenger, called Yemenlî Hasan Aghâ, a khetkhodâ of the court, brought him a letter, which stated that if he wished his own existence to be continued, to make all the haste he possibly could. He recommenced his journey immediately, but was considerably impeded in crossing the river Mûrov, owing to the masses of ice

which floated upon its surface. However, he got safely over it, and when he arrived at Nisa he met another messenger, who brought him a letter apprizing him of the fate of Ghaznafer, who suffered death along with Osmán. At a place called Khurman he was met by two other kapújí báhís, who brought him a royal letter, and another from the queen-mother, both of which invited him to court, and which also were sufficient tokens of their good-will. He immediately returned a humble answer to these communications by the two persons who brought them to him. On his reaching Adrianople he took up his lodgings for a few hours in the house of Etmekjí Zádeh, his own treasurer, who was then at Belgrade. Yahíah Effendí, who was afterwards raised to the office of high priest, happening to be disengaged when the grand vezír arrived, waited on him, and both together, about seven o'clock in the evening, set out for the metropolis. On reaching Selivria they were met by Yemenlí Hasan Aghá, a kapú ketkhodá, and Sári Alí Aghá, superintendant of the Soleimaniyeh, who strongly charged them not to delay entering the palace that night, for if they did, the messengers assured them the spáhís would next morning completely prevent their doing so. The grand vezír immediately descended from his chariot, mounted a swift charger, and reached the royal palace about four o'clock in the afternoon on the 25th of the month Shaban. The emperor received him most graciously, and welcomed his arrival in the kindest manner. After the grand vezír had delivered a statement to the emperor of the affairs on the frontiers, he received a visit from the káimakám, Mahmúd Páshá, who no sooner departed, than the two military judges came to pay their respects to him also. When these exalted prelates were about retiring, he desired them to go to the mufti and give him his compliments; "Tell him," said the grand vezír, "that had it not been the night-season, I would have called on him to pay him my respects in person at his own fortunate mansion; that as I did not wish to disturb him at so unseasonable an hour of the night, I have preferred waiting till to-morrow, when I shall not fail to visit him. But be sure," continued he, "to come back and tell me how he received your message." The reverend prelates, however, did not return. The morning arrived, and no word whatever from the mufti, nor any account of the prelates. This presaged no good. He, however, ascertained



by some other means, that the principal actors in the late tumult had gone that morning to the mufti, and complained to him in the most violent manner against him. "This vezír," said they, "has, by his bad management, and want of skill in the command of the troops on the frontiers, allowed the infidels to gain some important advantages over the orthodox Moslems, and has thus tarnished the glory and pride of the Osmánlis. Having preferred this complaint, they insisted on the mufti's giving them a decree to take away his life. The mufti complied. These accusers, after succeeding with the head of their religion, hastened away to the governor, Mahmúd Páshá, to show it to him. In some histories it is said that this decree was delivered to the soldiery by Mahmúd when the grand vezír was about entering the city on his return from Belgrade. However, to make the thing as sure as the accusers could, they went to the two military judges, and asked them to tell them if the instrument which the mufti had issued was legal, and if so, to sign it; which after some little importunity they did.

*Mahmúd Páshá reports these proceedings to the Emperor, who refuses to sanction the deed of the Mufti.*

Mahmúd Páshá, the governor of Constantinople, wrote out a report of the proceedings which were carrying on against the life of the grand vezír, Yemishjí Hasan Páshá, enclosed in it the decree of the high-priest, which had been confirmed by the signatures of the two military judges, and sent it to the emperor. In this report the cunning governor assured the grand sultán, that if he did interpose in behalf of his vezír serious mischief would inevitably be the result. The emperor, after receiving this document and its enclosures, caused it to be published that Mahmúd Páshá had stipulated with the heads of the disaffected to give them thirty thousand ducats, and that he, in the event of grace being shown to Yemishjí, had instructed them to raise a tremendous tumult. This was a sufficient answer to Mahmúd's report. The emperor, moreover, declared that he had perfect knowledge of the whole of his vezír's conduct, and that if it had appeared that he had acted unworthily of his high station, he, the emperor, knew how to punish him. He was much displeased with the interference which had been made.

After having sent this answer to the proper quarter, he called an officer of the court, and instructed him in the necessity there existed of his going that very night and taking summary vengeance on Mahmúd Páshá, and which he conceived would have the effect of intimidating the disaffected soldiery. This commission was no sooner delivered than the emperor sent the whole of the papers which had been sent to him by Mahmúd to his grand vezír. The person to whom this business had been entrusted was Kásim Aghá, who on delivering the above papers to the grand vezír, informed him that he was on his way to murder Mahmúd Páshá. Mahmúd Páshá, however, had got scent of the purpose which had been formed against him, and either hid himself or absconded. The grand vezír, on examining the documents which had been put into his hand, was, no doubt, greatly astonished to find amongst them an official decree of the highest spiritual authority for the taking away of his own life.

After the grand vezír had fully weighed Mahmúd's statement and the decree of the mufti, confirmed, as it was, by the authority of the military judges, was not only astonished and confounded, as might easily be imagined, but also greatly afflicted. The soldiery who had been anxiously looking for the emperor's consent to his execution, no sooner heard of the kind reception the grand vezír had met with at court, than they began to vociferate loudly that they would proceed to his palace and there murder him forthwith. They, accordingly, rushed into the At-maidán, where they began to concert how they might be able to effect their bloody deed. The grand vezír was no sooner apprized, on the other hand, of the menacing of the mob, than he, in terror of his life no doubt, ordered his gate to be firmly barricaded, and ran to hide himself in the apartment next to that in which the sultána his bride lived; for the marriage was not yet consummated.

When the spáhí mob, in conformity to their plan, had reached the gate of the grand vezír's palace, they found the gate firmly shut against them, but which, had it not been that the night was setting in, they would have burst open. This circumstance, it would appear, caused them to change their mind, and agreeing to defer their purpose till the following morning, they immediately dispersed.

The poor grand vezír and commander-in-chief felt the insecurity of their situation, and being haunted by the horrors of a cruel and untimely death, which his imagination pictured to him, he, at the hour when every true Muselman was offering up his nightly devotions, issued from his palace in disguised garments, accompanied by only two faithful servants, and proceeded to the palace of the ághá of the janissaries, called "the Palace of delight." Here he was visited by Yemenlí Aghá and Sárí Ali Aghá who desired him to take his ink-stand and a few sheets of paper and to proceed without delay to the ághá of the palace. The unfortunate vezír mounted a horse and went as he was directed. On reaching the palace and entering into the hall of audience, he there saw Hasan Páshá and the ághá of the janissaries with his suite busily engaged in some affairs. The latter called the vezír to advance, and directed him to draw out the following statement:—"That the present acting mufti, Siná-allah Effendí, had been guilty of affording countenance and protection to some of the insurgents; that his brother's son, Chelebí Kází, had, in a most unrighteous manner, accepted of thirty thousand dollars from the rebel Scrivano; that he had caused Mohammed Páshá, son of Sinán Páshá, to be deposed; that he had joined with the multitude of spáhís in intimidating the diván; that he had caused the ághá of the palace and the kizlar ághá (or ághá of the seraglio) to be beheaded; that he had thrown the whole of the community into a state of excitement by his murderous persecution of the grand vezír; in short, that he was the moving cause of all the disturbance, insubordination, rebellion and violence, which had lately taken place in the city. Further: that the whole of the janissaries were thoroughly convinced that this high-priest should be turned out of his office, as a preliminary to the settling of those commotions which agitated the public mind; that he should be banished to the island of Rhodes, and his place filled by a man possessed of piety and orthodox principles; that Mustafa Effendí, military judge of Anatolia, should be the person to succeed him in his high office, because he was a man possessed of piety and religion, and was, moreover, continent and abstemious."

Such were the contents of the statement above alluded to, and which the grand vezír, when written out, wrapped up in a cloth and kept till the proper moment for presenting it should arrive. His friends also sent intima-

tion, similar to what the statement contained, to the vezírs, ulemá, armour-bearers, heads of the artillery, and to all the principal persons in the community who were able to read; and all the faithful subjects of his majesty were called upon to assemble under arms at the mosque of Soleimán, and there wait to hear a declaration of his majesty's will and pleasure.

The paper containing the accusations against the mufti was sent by night, by a trust-worthy person, to the sultán in his own private apartments. The morning arrived, and the multitude began to assemble in the vicinity of the Soleimaniyeh. The whole of the janissaries stood fully accoutred under arms at the foot of the stairs opposite their own barracks, and all strangers were ordered to withdraw. Hasan Páshá and Ferhád Aghá, the ághá of the janissaries, stood forward on the top of the stairs above-mentioned, produced a royal letter which one of them read in the hearing of the janissaries. This royal letter assured them of his majesty's good opinion of them, and said that they did and ever should participate of his grace and favour. "From the days of my august and noble ancestors until this day," it was more particularly stated in this royal document, "you have always conducted yourselves with propriety, and have never been guilty of any irregularity or insubordination. You have uniformly obeyed my royal injunctions with the utmost zeal and precision; and now I request you to aid my grand vezir in chastising those unruly persons who have been the cause of exciting turbulence and commotion in our royal city."

The janissaries who had been instructed how to act their part in this matter replied, after having pronounced many blessings on their sovereign's head, that they had some certain reasonable things to advance, and begged they might be laid before the august throne. "The muftis of former days," they said, "used to be very much attached to the royal house, but the present one, Sina-allah Effendi, was a traitor to the true interests of the Ottomans. He has been bribed by Scrivano, through his nephew, Chelebí Kází, with a sum of thirty thousand dollars; he has deposed Mohammed Páshá, son of Sinán Páshá; he joined the turbulent multitude who lately intimidated the diván, causing some of its principal members to be executed; and at this moment he is exciting the mob to be satisfied with nothing less than the grand vezir's life, having even issued a decree for this purpose. It

is our opinion," continued the janissaries, "that he should be forthwith chastised, and that Mahmúd Páshá, his chief coadjutor in this tumult, should be executed without delay; that the turbulent and seditious among the spáhí mob should be delivered up, and in the event of this being declined, to visit the whole tribe with summary vengeance. If they show a disposition to resist, then let them stand prepared for combat, for we are ready to meet them."

The grand vezír expressed his satisfaction, came forward along with the ághá to their view, and sat down. The vezírs ulemá, and other dignitaries and nobles also assembled. Sinán Páshá, son of Jeghala, declined attending, but a messenger who was sent after him forced him to comply whether he would or not.

After these magnates had assembled in council, the names of the principal conspirators were all registered, their persons proscribed, and a list of them was sent to their chief commanders.

Next morning, however, the discontented spáhís assembled under arms before the menagerie. The grand vezír ordered some ághás to go to the spáhí troops and demand the persons whose names had been noted down. If they deliver them up to you, said he, bring them hither; if not, tell them they must abide by the consequence. The ághás did as they were commanded. On their appearing before the spáhís they showed their credentials and demanded the persons whose names had been taken down, but the spáhís declared they would not give one of them up, supposing, no doubt, the emperor would not proceed to extremities. These ághás sent back these lieutenants with the ungracious answer of the spáhís. In the meantime, two kapújís arrived from the palace, who delivered a packet to the grand vezír which announced to him that the change he had proposed in the muftiship was most graciously acceded to. He turned about to Abdulmámin Mustafa Effendí and informed him that his majesty had most kindly appointed him mufti. The new mufti made a suitable reply, and the grand vezír, after considering the whole of the contents of the royal communication, took Mustafa Effendí by the arm and introduced him, as such, to all the vezírs and magistrates present, when they all paid him the homage due to his elevated rank.

After all these ceremonies were concluded, the new mufti was requested to wait on his majesty, who entered into conversation with him respecting the conduct of the insurgents, who still maintained their obstinacy, and asked him what punishment, he thought ought to be inflicted on them. The mufti replied, "that the law ought to take its course; that all who continued to manifest disobedience to his high injunctions were rebels; and that the spáhís ought to deliver up, for condign punishment, the chief actors in the tumult and rebellion which then reigned to so terrible a degree throughout the city."

The grand vezír again addressed the lieutenants of the ághás who had brought him the resolution of the turbulent spáhís, and desired them to return and inform them of the judgment of the new mufti; then to come back to him, bringing along with them the proscribed persons, provided they gave them up. "If they do not deliver them up," said he, "then inform them that the whole tribe of spáhís shall be entirely cut off from serving any longer in the state, and their privileges be done away with." They were, moreover, to be informed, that the emperor expected immediate obedience; that if they did not at once show signs of regret by availing themselves of the overture made to them, he had determined to take summary vengeance on them all; that their heads would be cut off at the bottom of the stairs on which he, the grand vezír, stood. The officers proceeded with their message, and delivered it in due form.

In the meantime, however, the grand vezír called one Devlet Aghá, a kapújí báší (who was in an after reign grand vezír), and desired him to take forty of the household troops and proceed to the house of Siná-allah, the mufti effendí, seize his person, put him on board a vessel, and banish him to the island of Rhodes. Devlet Aghá proceeded with his party to seize the person of the high priest, as directed, but before he had reached his house the reverend father had fled and hid himself.

Devlet Aghá not finding the object of his pursuit, called Hamza Aghá, a kapújí báší, and Murád Effendí, the second recorder, and desired them to proceed and seal up the palace of the fugitive, Mahmúd Páshá, sometimes called Guzelsháh Mahmúd Páshá. At the same time persons were sent to shut the gates of Constantinople, and to watch them. These proceedings



were announced in the At-maidán to the assembled spáhís, who became so terrified that they all dispersed in the greatest dismay. The ághá of the janissaries mounted his horse, and conducting his troops through the streets of the city, soon restored peace and order in all quarters of Constantinople. The great men and vezírs returned to their respective mansions. Ferhád, the ághá of the janissaries, no sooner restored order in the city than he went in pursuit of the rebels. The grand vezír spent the remainder of that day in the house of the ághá of the palace; and Ferhád, on proceeding to a barrack belonging to the spáhís situate near the arsenal, immediately ransacked it of every thing valuable, and slew a number of this turbulent tribe. This circumstance laid a foundation of enmity between these two powerful bodies, viz. the janissaries and spáhís. The barring and locking of the gates of Constantinople proved also a great inconvenience to the inhabitants, inasmuch as they were prevented from burying their dead in the usual way.

Such, for a whole day and night, was the agitated state of the city, occasioned by the events we have related.

*Poiráz Osmán and other rebels executed.*

The following day, at an early hour, the mufti, the vezírs, the grandees, the ulemá, and others, met for consultation in the house of the ághá of the palace, and continued their deliberations in reference to the interests of religion and the benefit of the state till the hour of prayer. The grand vezír then mounted his horse and went to pay a visit to his august majesty, accompanied by the new mufti and the military judge of Anatolia, Mustafa Effendí, who, it will be remembered, was recommended by the janissaries to fill the office of the high priest. The grand vezír was preceded by a body of armed foot soldiers to the imperial palace, and after having had the honour of kissing his sovereign's hand, the emperor entered into conversation with him and the other august persons that accompanied him about the state of public affairs. The serdár, after the above interview, returned in great pomp to the At-maidán, where the janissaries, who had met there by appointment, fired several rounds, and the cavalry went through their evolutions in token of joy for the success which had attended the grand vezír.

The mufti and the military judge, after having conversed some little while with the grand vezír, retired to their own homes.

Now that peace and good order had been established, the inhabitants came forward in multitudes to congratulate the grand vezír on his escape from the snares which had been laid for him, and to express their gratitude for his having quenched the fury of the spáhís. On this same day, in the afternoon, two messengers, one after the other, arrived, and informed the vezír that Poiráz Osmán and Ogúz Mohammed, two of the principal leaders in the late disturbance, had been seized, and that Mustafa Aghá, the ághá of the spáhís, was conducting these two culprits into his presence. In a short time they appeared bound in chains before him: the vezír addressed them thus: "Osmán Beg, I showed you much respect and attention in the late war on the frontiers; I conferred on you offices of trust and profit, and have heaped favours upon you. Is this, then, the return you make? Is this according to your solemn promises? What can be the reason that you have acted thus? Why have you joined yourself to my enemies?" Poiráz Osmán replied; "O, exalted páshá, why do you force me to speak? I certainly did not commit the evil you impute to me in order that I should afterwards offer an apology. What has happened to me has been my lot. I have not trampled on your goodness so as to banish from my view all thoughts of providence. I feel that I am every way worthy of punishment; at the same time I humbly request you, in the exercise of your consummate benevolence, not to allow me, a guilty man, to be strangled like a woman, but kill me yourself with your sword." "God forbid," said the vezír in return, "that we should kill a heroic man of your stamp, especially as we know you must have been disadvantageously placed. But what," continued the páshá, "induced you to adopt the course you have taken? I wish you to give me an explanation;" and then urged him to do so. Osmán Beg replied, "When I came to Constantinople, I perceived the spáhís going on with their mischievous purposes, but at first declined taking any share in them. Kátib Jezámí and others came running about me; and when I tried to escape them they followed me, urging me to join them. They used to tell me this and that; that the mufti, all the vezírs, the military judge, and other great men were in the plot; that they should

without doubt accomplish their purpose; 'your making yourself singular,' they said, 'will not retard the execution of our plan, and your obstinacy will only serve to bring evil upon yourself.' They took me one day to the mufti's deputy, who invited me to a splendid feast; I assembled that day with the rebels, but did not, for a while, mix with them; I was afterwards invited by Mahmúd Páshá to wait on him. I did so, and he constrained me to declare my sentiments; to say on what side I was. 'Osmán,' said Mahmúd, 'we have concocted this great measure, and your not taking a decided share in it is not wise; and to oppose the general voice, you know, is not safe, especially as the conspirators have thirty thousand ducats at their disposal. Do not, my friend, make yourself obnoxious;' and much more to the same purpose. From Mahmúd's I was conducted to the mufti effendí, Siná-allah himself, and thence to the military judge. Each of the spiritual dignitaries employed many arguments to induce me to join them. I was at last, from what I had seen and heard, persuaded that all the men of name and power had espoused this unfortunate party's interest, and were united in carrying it forward to a conclusion. The thirty thousand ducats were every now and then referred to. To make the story short, the devil tempted me; I became one of their number, and was one of the most active in the whole of the disturbance and insubordination which have lately manifested themselves.' This seems a very candid confession, but it helped the unfortunate culprit nothing. The grand vezír looked in the poor devil's face with astonishment, and wondered at his statement. He ordered Aghá Mustafa to conduct the culprits into the royal presence, where the whole of the above facts were again elicited, and the result was, that the emperor ordered their heads to be severed from their bodies, which was immediately complied with. A day or two afterwards the insurgent Dipa kiz Rizván met with a similar fate; so did also Ghuzáz Ali and Burnaz Mohammed; but the infamous and wicked Kátib Jezámí could nowhere be found. Strict search for him it must, however, be confessed, was not made. It appears that he had collected a great quantity of gold together, had himself put into a coffin, and was carried over from Constantinople to Uskudár (Scutari), whence, with a few servants, he fled on horseback. His servants, falling in love with his money; however, took the opportunity, when they reached a mountainous

part of the country, to murder him, and took the whole of his gold to themselves. Whilst these wretches were disputing and maliciously contending as to the mode of dividing their spoil, one of their number fled from them ; and thus the story of Kátib Jezámí was made known.

Hasan Khalifeh, another of the heads of the insurgents who had been previously involved in other desperate acts, thinking himself perfectly secure, entered into coffee-houses, and spent part of the nights of the month of Ramazan in gay conversation, and in the participation of good cheer along with some of his friends in the above houses ; but on the 11th night of that month, whilst enjoying his pleasure in one of these cafés, he was seized and hurried away into the presence of the emperor, when he was without mercy instantly sent to the mansions of the dead. In this way the whole of the ringleaders of the insurgents were disposed of : the world was thus delivered from their mischievous existence.

As to Gúzelsháh Mohammed Páshá, the deputy-governor of Constantinople, he fled and hid himself at the very commencement of the tumult, as before observed ; but he was afterwards discovered in the habit of a súffí, near the mosque built by Háji Khosrú, a rich man, on the outside of Constantinople. He threw himself on the mercy of the sublime Sultán, and thus escaped with his life.

New troubles, however, arose. A foundation for enmity between the spáhís and the janissaries was laid by the proceedings of the grand vezír, as before hinted. Peace and order had scarcely begun to be felt, when a dispute arose between these two powerful military bodies, and was carried on with the utmost asperity. Whenever any of the one party met any of the other, a battle uniformly took place. But it was beyond the walls of Constantinople that this hostility was most fiercely manifested. The proud vezír's passion for murder and bloodshed continued unabated : his thirst for vengeance against the remaining objects of his hatred he never failed to satiate whenever he found an opportunity of doing so. He thought that the measure he had employed in crushing the rebellion which had been raised against himself had been completely effectual. He was proud of his own doings, and began to publish abroad in the palace of the emperor Alexander (the court of Constantinople) his own mighty deeds ; and sup-

posed he was every way such a favourite with the emperor that nothing he could ask would be refused. In this exalted state of his imagination, he passed five successive inglorious fast days in the greatest transports and joy. Having fully acquired the victory and glory which he thought necessary for himself, he began to increase his own abstemiousness and piety in a corresponding measure; but his fury and malignity for promoting the purposes of his own heart were in proportion to the good qualities he had formerly manifested. In short, he exercised violence and cruelty without restraint. He shed blood, and punished to excess; any one who was so unhappy as to displease him, however trifling the offence might have been, was certain of feeling his vengeance, and that was generally death. Without even the shadow of any rational pretext whatever, he caused one Alí Aghá, the brother-in-law of the ághá of the palace, to be strangled. The very day after this deed was committed, he went to the diván, and caused Tarnákjî Hasan Páshá to be singled out from among the senators in the diván, and ordered his head to be struck off even under the sacred roof; but for what crime he suffered death no one knew. The grand vezír, in fact, was absolute and supreme, and therefore irresistible.

Hasan Páshá, formerly mentioned, was about this time appointed to the government of Baghdat, to which he repaired.

Azím Zâdeh Effendî relates, what is not at all to be wondered at in those days of mourning, that this same grand vezír had formed the design also of numbering among the slain Sâa'tjî Hasan Páshá, who had been formerly governor of Constantinople, but that he had the good fortune to make his escape to Trebisond. Háfez Páshá, the eunuch, who formerly had been káimákám of the Sublime Porte, was sent by him to the Seven Towers, and he lay there without the hope of escape. Others besides these now mentioned felt his resentment, and that too for mere trifles: for neglecting to shew him the respect he conceived to be due to him, or if he had any suspicion of their acting contrary to his views of such things.

About this same time also he began to lay his hand upon the merchants, and to extort money from them. By the advice of Yázijî Zâdeh, he got the ulemá to extend his powers and privileges, by which means he exercised oppression and tyranny, cruelty and rapine, in every direction.

*Other affairs of this period.*

On the 11th of Ramazan, Jeráh Mohammed Páshá was appointed to take the command of the troops who had been ordered to act against the insurgents; but this appointment was again rescinded on the 25th following, and Jeghala Zádeh was fixed upon. Khosrú Páshá, who had been removed from the government of Egypt, was appointed vezír over the emperor's private property, and was ordered to take his seat in the diván; and on the 1st of Dhu'l Kadah, he was appointed to take the command of the troops who served on the banks of the Danube. Ferhád Aghá having been deposed from the command of the janissaries, Kásim Aghá, deputy of the Kapújís, was appointed in his stead. Delí Hasan, the rebel-chief, who had gone to winter at Karah-hísár, sent his deputy, Sháh Verdí, to Constantinople, to solicit pardon for all his past offences, and promising obedience in future. Through the good offices of the túrnají báshí, who had recommended to employ him on the frontiers of Romeili, where he might have an opportunity of manifesting his courage, he was too suddenly received back into favour, and the country of Bosnia was rashly conferred on him. This same túrnají báshí accompanied Hasan's deputy back, and carried with him for the reconciled chief a drum, a flag, and a robe of honour, which the government thought proper to send him. After having dispersed his rebel troops, he passed over to Romeili about the beginning of Dhu'l Kadah, and got the command of about four hundred men. The above-mentioned túrnají báshí was also sent with a body of janissaries to the camp of Mohammed Páshá at Belgrade, who had succeeded to the grand vezír in the command of the army on the frontiers, and having left Buda, had come to Belgrade. Here he collected his troops, and waited with some anxiety for the arrival of the janissaries, whom he expected the túrnají báshí would bring with him; and also for Delí Hasan. In the month of Dhu'l Kadah, Núh Páshá, the beglerbeg of Anatolia, who had succeeded Jeghala Zádeh in the east, and who had been appointed to the government of Caramania, Sivas, Mercesh, Haleb, and Adna, was appointed to conduct the war against those rebel chiefs who had continued their hostility, after Delí Hasan had reconciled himself. But when these rebels, however,



did make peace, the sons of the khán of the Crimea, Salámet Gherái, Mohammed Gherái, and Shaher Gherái, who had gone over to them, returned to the court of their brother, the ruling khán, when their unnatural conduct was pardoned. This took place towards the end of Dhu'l Hijja. On the 27th of the same month, the emperor was exceedingly enraged against the royal prince called Mahmúd Sultán, for some vicious conduct which had manifested itself in him. The true reason seems to have been this. One of the mesháiekh, or doctors, entered into a correspondence with Sultán Mahmúd, which flattered him with the prospect of mounting the Ottoman throne. This correspondence fell into the hands of the Kizlar Aghá, who informed the emperor of what was going on. The prince was first seized, then his mother, the sheikh or doctor, and all the other persons who were any way connected with the secret. This conduct, on the part of the persons concerned, awakened, as well it might, the suspicion of the emperor, who deemed it of so serious nature, that at the end of one month after they had been apprehended they were made to feel what they had every reason to dread. Mahmúd was a youth of great bravery and heroism. When at any time he saw his father in a thoughtful mood about the issue of the rebellion, which we have lately described, he used to say to him: "Make me commander-in-chief, and I will soon bring these rebels to submit, either by the sword or by acts of kindness: the thing is by no means difficult." The emperor, however, did not like to hear him express himself in that way, and therefore prohibited the use of such language.

Among the strange events of this year is the following. Abd-ur-rahmán, sometimes called Nedázli, a teacher in an academy in Constantinople, was apprehended on the 10th Jamadi II., and put to death in the royal diván on a charge of impiety and atheism. Akhí Zâdeh Effendí the chief-priest of Romeili, and Asa'd Effendí the chief-priest of Anatolia, were the two judges who condemned the unhappy man. Asa'd Effendí, in a letter he sent to Tarnákjî Hasan Páshá, says "he had never met in all his life such another Zendik (sadducee) as Abd-ur-rahmán. He avowed most thoroughly," continues Asa'd Effendí, "his disbelief of the resurrection, heaven and hell, reward and punishment. I asked him to reply to

several texts, and employed many strong and perspicuous arguments with the view of rescuing him from his unbelief and depravity, but he would not recant. So great an unbeliever was he, in his perverted judgment on points on which there can be no doubt! But neither was he to be considered as an insane person, for he argued strongly for his own views and mode of belief. There is no hope whatever of convincing a madman; and this sadducee, when he was not brought to repentance, deserved to die, and to this doom he was subjected. If your excellency had been here you would, with your own hands, have slain him. The world is delivered from his corrupt opinions, Muselmans from his influence, and the orthodox faith from the slanders of his tongue."

*Concerning the operations of the new Commander-in-chief, Mohammed Páshá.*

Soon after the grand vezír's return to Constantinople last year, Lálá Mohammed Páshá, whom he had left in the supreme command at Buda, was appointed serdár in his room, or commander-in-chief of the whole of the Turkish forces on the frontiers.

Lálá Mohammed Páshá, as before hinted, left Buda and came to Belgrade, whence he issued orders to all the troops to assemble at his headquarters. After these orders had been attended to, and the various troops had accordingly assembled at Belgrade, he found it would be too late in the year to wait for the arrival of the janissaries, whom the túrnají báshí was conducting to him from Constantinople, or for Delí Hasan (lately a powerful and mischievous rebel). In short, the season had already been far advanced, and therefore Mohammed Páshá returned towards Buda with the whole of his army. After crossing the bridge of Usk he encamped at a place called Kúrwah, where he received a visit from Delí Hasan Páshá, now the beglerbeg of Bosnia. When this man first came over to Romeili, under the semblance of having returned to obedience, he still cherished in his heart, notwithstanding this appearance, his old sentiments of disaffection. For some small offence which the master of the vessel in which he sailed from Anatolia had given him, he got into a rage and shot him dead. His conduct at Adrianople was still more flagrant. He collected there, by violence, an immense quantity of spoil; robbed the saddler of that place

of all the furniture he had in his premises; laid a heavy contribution on the inhabitants, and did not leave the place till a certain number of *yüks* of money had been given to him. He acted in this tyrannical way at Philipopolis, Sofia, and other cities through which he passed with his troops, amounting to ten thousand foot and horse, on his way to join the commander-in-chief. These troops had a most strange appearance. Many of them were naked-looking wretches, wearing amulets and chains about their necks; others of them had camel-bells fixed to their stirrups, and also wore amulets and chains on their backs; others were without caps or bonnets, and wore long hair like women, divided into tresses; others again had no covering for their legs. Each man of this motley crew carried a sort of spear, having a white flag about two spans long at the top. Thus arranged and accoutred, they surrounded the serdár's tent with their matches burning in their hands, and crooked daggers stuck in their girdles. After having arranged themselves properly and being put in right order, the serdár sent one hundred and forty garments for the better sort amongst them, and cloth for as many more. Four hundred of them offered to enter the ranks of the serdár; but he replied he would see about it, and afterwards dismissed this savage-looking multitude.

His royal highness Gházi Gherái, khán of the Crimea, who had wintered at Petchevi, made an excursion into the enemy's dominions, but had not been so successful in the enterprize as he at first anticipated. When the commander-in-chief\* was on his way from Buda to Belgrade he paid his royal highness a visit; but on account of some misunderstanding or other, the khán returned to his own dominions without offering, in any way, to assist the besieged in Buda, which we lately left under the command of Mohammed Páshá, afterwards appointed commander-in-chief. The enemy's camp, below Pest, was about fifty thousand strong. They had constructed a bridge

\* This was Yemishji Hasan Páshá, the grand vezir, when on his way to Constantinople. It will be remembered under what circumstances he gave up the chief command to Mohammed Páshá at Buda; and also that Pest was at that time in the hands of the enemy. It is to the subsequent history of the contest between the Musselmans and the Austrians that the writer seeks now to draw the attention of his reader.

across to the island of Chíl, and occupied that island with the view of preventing boats passing with provisions to Buda.

When the army under Mohammed Páshá, the commander-in-chief, had taken up its position in the neighbourhood of the enemy's camp, the whole of the enemy's guns were directed against the Moslems, who, from the necessity they were under of preparing themselves trenches, were not in a condition to act on the offensive, or even on the defensive. The Moslems appeared, even to themselves, to have been in a dilemma at this time, and did not seem to know how to conduct their military manœuvres. They were aware, at least some of their leaders were so, that if they had sent out detachments to harass the country around Pest, the enemy would not fail to take advantage of this, and come and attack them when less able to offer them effectual resistance. As the recovering of Buda was their chief object, they were unwilling to retire before they had at least supplied it with a sufficient quantity of provisions, and thus encourage the Budians to maintain their heroic resistance. The opinions of the warriors, however, were various and conflictive: one party proposed one thing, another opposed this, and a third had a new plan altogether. At length, however, now that Yemishji Páshá was no more at their head, they resolved on constructing bridges, and attacking the enemy that had taken possession of the Chíl. This was talked over and considered. Kúchuk Osmán Aghá, Fedái Beg, ághá of the salih-dárs, some emirs well acquainted with the use of small-arms, and three thousand segbáns, with ten pieces of cannon, were ordered to effect a landing on the island during the night, and raise bastions, mounds, &c. The commander of the segbáns, who acted in the room of the ághá of the janissaries, came forward, and said that he had ordered three or four thousand of the common soldiers to this service, as it was unnecessary, and even improper, he said, to employ the janissaries in a species of labour which was beneath their rank in the army. These sentiments did not sound well in the ears of those veterans who thought otherwise; they said that the success of the undertaking depended on the janissaries being employed in it. A warm discussion ensued, and every one gave his own opinion. One party proposed that Serkhúsh Ibrahim Páshá, cousin to the commander-in-chief,

should conduct this expedition. This was opposed by another party, who proposed that Murád Páshá, beglerbeg of Romeili, with his provincial troops, should be sent. This was also rejected; and it is no wonder if the conflicting opinions which prevailed in the Moslem camp on this occasion should have proved the means of its utter ruin and destruction. From this very terrible result, however, they were saved, though at the expense of many lives.

Dervish Páshá, who had been deposed from the government of Bosnia, was finally fixed on to conduct the expedition. On his reaching a bridge which the Moslems had just constructed for his use, he broke out into a rage when he saw it, and declared it altogether defective and dangerous. Mohammed Páshá, when the fact was explained to him, smoothed him down by telling him it should be, without delay, put into a proper state. "I need only tell you," said the serdár, "in order to secure your services, that the janissaries in Constantinople, in consequence of their having met with the emperor's countenance, and that of the prime minister, have become excessively tyrannical and turbulent. When you reflect on this, and when you consider that those of the same body of men amongst us here have manifested a similar spirit, you will not, I am sure, flinch from the duty assigned you." This speech had the desired effect. Dervish swore that he regarded his own life no more than he did a draught of water. "My reflection forbids me," answered he, with no small degree of generous warmth, "to feel concern about self, but it demands of me, on the other hand, to be every way alive to the interests of my government, and to the glory of my religion. No sacrifice can be too great for either of these." Thus saying, he proceeded. By means of boats four or five thousand horse and ten thousand foot were conveyed across to the above island under covert of the night.

It is very singular, as well as very remarkable, that at this time Mohammed Páshá was visited by a sort of deep lethargy, which seemed extremely alarming; so much so, in fact, that he could not raise his head, and when he opened his eyes he spoke nonsense. In the meantime midnight had passed away, and the troops, which had effected a descent on the island of Chil, had made no trenches nor erected any bastions. The seg-

báns who formed part of the expedition obstinately refused to open trenches. "We fought on the other side," said they, "without the use of trenches, and we will not use them here." The other janissaries, however, dug trenches for themselves.

On the morning of the 4th of the month Sefer these unruly troops stood forth without order, and without any preconcerted plan, just like an army of locusts; and instead of acting in concert, and under regular authority, they spread out into small parties, and began to harass and plunder the country round Pest. They killed a few in these excursions, and seized a handful of others, with whom they returned to their camp. The bridge above referred to, though immense labour had been used in getting it ready, was not as yet fully finished. The enemy, who had been watching the movements of the Moslems, now put themselves in motion. They resembled a horde of swine following each other. The Hungarian cavalry attacked with fury those of the Moslems, and the bloody contest continued for several hours. It was very awful to see so many thousands of men in battle-array, some dying on the field and others drowning in the Danube. An auxiliary force of some hundreds of Moslems was conveyed over to the aid of their brethren in the island, whilst the cannon in the camp were made to play on the enemy with some effect. Dervish Páshá, who commanded the expedition, was left with only ten pages around him; but he maintained his ground with matchless heroism. He tried, though in vain, to rally around him his troops, who were flying in all directions. Seeing himself abandoned by his men, and having no hope of succour from any quarter, he rushed in among a body of the enemy with the few who had remained faithful to him, and died sword in hand.

In this very disastrous attempt no less than six thousand of the turbulent segbáns perished. The enemy, on perceiving the advantage they had gained, advanced their guns to the edge of the river, and destroyed the bridge which had cost the Moslems so much trouble in constructing. This was not all. They soon after sent over in boats a host of troops to the Moslem side of the river, and during the night effected a number of trenches. They also commenced constructing a bridge, and every thing seemed to pronounce in favour of the enemy. The Moslems had met with a severe check,



and the enemy was advancing upon them. For three successive days they remained (*i. e.* the Moslem army) in a state of apparent inactivity, and the enemy had nearly finished their new bridge, when, on the fourth day, Delí Hasan Páshá, by order of the serdár, advanced with his troops to the very edge of the enemy's new trenches; but finding it impracticable, from their great depth, to penetrate them, he returned. He contrived, however, a more effectual method; this was, to divide his men into two bodies, and cause them to enter in at the two ends of the trenches. Never was any thing more decisive. Out of ten thousand of the very best part of the enemy's troops, and which had occupied these trenches, only about two hundred of them escaped the edge of the sword: all the rest perished. The two hundred who did escape, made towards their boats; but had scarcely reached the middle of the river, on their return to the Chíl, when their boats upset and all on board sunk to the bottom.

After these wonderful and auspicious events, the serdár, Mohammed Páshá, raised his camp and directed his steps towards Buda; but the enemy, not in the least awed by the heavy loss they had just sustained, sent another body of several thousands to attack him in the rear. Few of these returned to their camp. Mohammed Páshá, who had fortunately received an augmentation of two thousand men from Buda, attacked the pursuing army from two points, and utterly defeated them. On the 12th of the month, when engaged in throwing provisions into Buda, the enemy again advanced, in the hope of thwarting the páshá's purpose; but they were met with such vigour, that they were obliged to retrace their steps as fast as they were able. The enemy now retired upon Pest, removing, as they advanced on that place, the bridges which they had constructed on the Danube.

The winter season having set in, the serdár directed his thoughts towards making arrangements for the better protection of Alba Julia and Buda. With this view, Hasan Aghá, the túrnají báshí, was left with a number of troops to watch the movements of the enemy. The váli of Romeili, Murád Páshá, with his provincials, was left to garrison Buda itself; and Delí Hasan Páshá, beglerbeg of Bosnia, was sent to Usk. On the 14th of Rabia II, the commander-in-chief, with the remainder of his army, returned to Bel-

grade, which he reached about the end of the month. The troops were allowed to retire into winter-quarters, and a report of the whole of the campaign was sent off to Constantinople.

In the month of Moharrem of this year, Súfi Sinán Pásha was recalled to Constantinople, and raised to the dignity of vezír. The government of Shám (Syria) was conferred on Ferhád Aghá, who had been deposed from the ágháship of the janissaries. Núh Páshá was appointed commander-in-chief in Anatolia, and Háfez Ahmed Páshá was recalled from Kutahia to Constantinople. He arrived there on the 24th of Sefer, and brought fifteen thousand ducats along with him, which were all seized by the government. The day after his arrival he went and took his seat in the diván; but towards the evening of the same day, Kásim Aghá, the ághá of the janissaries, seized him in his own palace, sealed up his effects, and conducted him to the Seven Towers, whence, after eighteen days' confinement, he was set at liberty, and sent off to his own villa in the neighbourhood of Mikhálíj (Moalich). The whole of his property in Constantinople was taken possession of in the name of the emperor. Had it not been for the interposition of the vezír, Hasan Páshá, and others, he certainly would have been put to death. In the month of Moharrem, also, Saa'tí Hasan Páshá was appointed to the government of Erzerúm, and was sent away during the severity of the winter by sea to Tribazond. Núh Páshá, who had been appointed commander-in-chief in Anatolia over the troops who were to act against the insurgents in that quarter, was displaced by the grand vezír, Yemishjí Hasan Páshá, in consequence of an old grudge which he still continued to cherish against him, and Nesúh Páshá, beglerbeg of Haleb, was appointed in his room. Nesúh Páshá was a man of great worth, probity, and experience. He was ordered to go to Larenda, in his native country.

*The grand vezír Yemishjí Hasan Páshá is deposed.—Dies by a violent death.*

The grand vezír, Yemishjí Hasan Páshá, took care to appoint skilful commanders every where on the Turkish frontiers; succeeded in crushing the sedition which had broken out in the city, and in restoring tranquillity; tamed the spirit of his factious and turbulent troops, and took ample ven-

geance on all his enemies. In short, Hasan Páshá, the prime minister, was without a rival, and acted with absolute authority. His success was his ruin. His insolent vapouring pride and vanity grew to such a height, that even the friendship of those who were most attached to him was turned into hatred and enmity, and their esteem into disgust. The reverend mufti, Mustafa Effendí, Mustafa son of Rázieh, the ághá of the janissaries, Kásim Aghá, besides other persons of note, began now to cherish an utter aversion towards this unsufferably proud and haughty vezír. These great men, and others of their order and rank, ventured, at last, to make a communication of his tyranny and misrule to the emperor; who, on receiving it, immediately wrote to the mufti, and others learned in the law, with regard to the nature of the misconduct charged against his vezír, and requested their opinion. These great and wise men acted their own part, and the result was, that both secret and open hostility began to be exercised against the grand vezír. It was alleged that he had the settled intention of banishing the queen-mother; that to accomplish this he had secured the concurrence of the janissaries, by promising to break open the treasury-chest of St. Sophia, and distributing the money in it amongst them. Kásim Aghá, to give this story the appearance of veracity, pretended he was able to substantiate the whole by credible witnesses. In short, the emperor and his mother were thoroughly persuaded of the truth of these allegations, and the following assertion had the effect of strengthening his majesty's convictions: "If your majesty," said his accusers, "were just now to send for the seals of office, he would refuse to deliver them up."

One day, when the grand vezír, without entertaining the least suspicion of what was going on against him, went to Dávyd Páshá on a visit to the emperor, and not finding the ághá of the palace, felt some concern as to how he might be introduced to his majesty, and therefore sent in a note intimating he had important communications to make to his royal ear; instead of having been graciously invited to enter, as he expected, he was coolly told, he would have an opportunity of laying his communications before the diván. This cold reception, as well as the answer which was returned him, he was at no loss to interpret: he perceived at once a change had taken place in his majesty's mind towards him. He waited

therefore, with anxiety for the meeting of the diván, which took place on the Saturday following. Prior to the meeting of the diván, however, the ághá of the janissaries wrote a note to his majesty, which insinuated that there was great danger to be apprehended from the grand vezír, and that if prompt measures were not immediately taken with him, a serious tumult would most certainly ensue. In the diván, he stated the same things at great length, and concluded by saying, "that if instant precaution was not taken to thwart the purposes of the proud vezír, the seditious doctrines he had sown among the janissaries would soon, he was afraid, be felt in all their mischievous consequences. Try," continued the ágha, "and require him to deliver up the seals of his vezírship, and I am willing to forfeit your majesty's good-will if the janissaries do not rise to a man in resistance." This speech excited his majesty's anger.

In the meantime, the ketkhodá of the kapújís went to the grand vezír, and informed him how matters stood, and of the part Kásim Aghá had acted; and also that the military judges demanded his presence in the diván. The grand vezír, however, did not think proper to appear in the diván; but this ághá, bent on ruining him, did not leave a stone unturned in trying to accomplish his purpose. Towards evening, one Túrkh Ahmed Aghá, a kapújí báshí, brought the vezír a written message, which purported to be from his majesty. On reading this document, he set off in a sorrowful mood towards the imperial gardens, but contrived at the same time to send word to those ághás who were his friends, of the emperor's purpose to deprive him of his office; and who immediately went to stir up the janissaries to offer resistance. They assembled themselves together in a tumultuous manner, hastened to Kásim Aghá's gate, and charged him with being the cause of the emperor's change of mind towards the grand vezír, shut him up in one of his rooms, and made his gate fast with locks and bars: thence they proceeded to the mufti and military judges, and threatened that if they did not immediately induce the emperor to restore Yemishjí Hasan Pashá to the premiership they would burn down their dwellings, and shed the blood of any who should venture to oppose them. They also wrote out their own sentiments, in order to present them to his majesty, but which they delayed sending till the following day. After having

menaced the reverend and learned gentleman above-mentioned, they returned to pay Kásim Aghá a second visit; but he had effected his escape, and had gone to Jeráh Mohammed Páshá. On not finding Kásim Aghá a prisoner in his own house as they had left him, the enraged janissaries took the seals of his ágháship, and conferred them on Túrkh Ahmed Aghá. The vezírship they conferred on Sáúkijí Mustafa Páshá, who had been governor of Wán; but the seals of the premiership they meant to confer on Yávuz Alí Páshá, who was expected from Egypt.

Such were the transactions which took place on the above occasion, and such the result. The diván, as a matter of prudence, was forbidden to meet for a week.

On the following morning the infuriated janissaries, with one accord, proceeded to the emperor's palace, and demanded with a loud voice that Yemishjí Hasan Páshá should be reinstated in the premiership. This demand, however, was only made to the officers and servants of the palace, but no doubt with the view of their communicating the desire of the janissaries to the royal ear.

It happened that on that day the reverend mufti, and other spiritual dignitaries, had gone with their retinue to the royal palace, where they met the new-made ághá of the janissaries, Túrkh Ahmed, and whom they earnestly exhorted to retrace his steps, and not follow irregular courses. In short, this mode of address made an impression on the mind of Túrkh Ahmed, and it seems to have communicated itself to the rest of the mutineers; for we find the janissaries suddenly changed their minds, and said, "It is no matter of ours who is at the helm of affairs: the emperor may appoint whom he pleases." The unfortunate grand vezír's friends among the ketkhodás and chief chávushes, and some others, still maintained his cause, and continued for a while longer to persevere in his behalf; but they, too, when they saw that their perseverance would end in no good in his behalf, followed the example of the others.

This unsettled state of things continued for the space of ten days, when ten eunuchs, under the command of the bostán báshí, by supreme authority suddenly seized on Yemishjí Hasan Páshá in the royal mint, dragged him forth into the garden of Khundán Aghá, and there despatched him, leaving

his friends and followers to lament over him. Thus ended the life and activities of Yemishjí Hasan Páshá.

It may not be improper briefly to advert here to the cause of that enmity which excited Kásim Aghá against the grand vezír, and which had its origin in the following circumstance.

When Háfez Ahmed Páshá was sent to the Seven Towers, and his property seized, that part of it which was not considered fit to be appropriated to his majesty's own use was ordered to be sold. Kásim Aghá was the person appointed to execute this business in the first instance; but the grand vezír, on the part of the diván, associated with Kásim the son Poghacha, the third treasurer. The latter, perceiving some disposition to purloin in the former, withstood him. Kásim, fired with indignation, said that the emperor had committed to him the sale of the confiscated property, and asked him, with an air of disdain, by whose authority he had ventured to mix in matters that did not belong to him. The other defended himself, and maintained that it was the special duty of the *defterdárs* to attend to matters of that kind, and not to ághás. "Why," said Kásim, in wrath, "I hope it will be my lot one day to dispose in this very way of your property, and of the property of him who sent you hither." The treasurer, who was not possessed of superabundant meekness, communicated these unguarded sayings to the grand vezír, and of course displeased him exceedingly. When Kásim, some time afterwards, appeared before him, he reproved him for his conduct, and threatened to be revenged on him. This, then, was the cause of that hostility and ill-will manifested by Kásim Aghá, as above related, and which also led him to other actions not less vindictive and cruel. After the murder of the grand vezír had been perpetrated, he not only got the treasurer, Altí Poghacha's son deposed, but succeeded also in keeping him confined in the Seven Towers for a considerable time, and caused the whole of his property to be confiscated—thus verifying, in part at least, the truth of his own prediction. Yemishjí Hasan Páshá's secretary he caused to be arrested, and made him advance security for his future conduct. Yaishá Zadeh Hamzah Effendí, the *reis-ul-ketáb*, or *reis-effendí*, was by his means sent to prison, and the whole of his property would also have been confiscated, had it not been for the good offices of



the ághá of the salihdárs, who interfered in his behalf. Kátibmim, the secretary to Jeráh Mohammed Páshá, was made reis-effendí in room of Hamza Effendí.

This Kásim, though only an ághá, seems to have acted with as much authority and controul, in fact, as if he had been possessed of absolute and supreme dominion over the lives and fortunes of men. We shall hear more of him just now, and still more afterwards.

*Kásim Páshá is made Governor of Constantinople.*

In consequence of the kálmakám having been afflicted with the gout, he found himself unable to attend his duty in the diván, and therefore did not appear there, except on the days on which petitions were presented to his majesty. Hamza Páshá, the lord high chancellor, acted for him, and gave him a detail of all such matters as usually came before that assembly.

One day, however, Kásim Páshá (very lately only an ághá) invented some means or other of getting the reverend mufti, Mustafa Effendí, invited to the royal palace, where the emperor conversed with him on topics of a general nature, and afterwards suddenly adverted to the case of the afflicted Jeráh Páshá; spoke of the excellent fitness of Kásim Páshá for the despatch of public affairs, and so forth. It now began to be circulated abroad that the mufti had said that Jeráh Páshá, the most laborious and active of all the emperor's servants, and the most beloved among the list of vezírs, was, in consequence of disease, unable to attend to the arduous services which his responsible situation demanded, or even to be present in the diván. The part which Hamza Páshá, the lord high chancellor, had acted in the diván, was mentioned with approbation, and, in words, encouraged; but the affairs of government, it was said, had become so very great and numerous, that it was absolutely impossible for him, however willing he might be, to fulfil the duties of the governor or deputy of Constantinople; and therefore it was considered more advantageous to the state to allow Jeráh Páshá to retire, and appoint another able person to the deputyship. It was urged that Kásim Páshá was a man every way qualified for the high situation, and on the 8th of Jemadi II. Jeráh was informed that his further continuance in office was dispensed with, and that Kásim Páshá was appointed to succeed him.

Kásim Páshá entered on the duties of his high station with zeal and alacrity, and, along with the mufti, attended incessantly to all the variety of business which came before him, with the most consummate skill and prudence. Mustafa Páshá, one of the vezírs, on account of some impropriety which appeared in his conduct, was sent to Anatolia, and Kúrd Páshá was appointed to fill his situation in the diván.

The mufti and the new deputy took care, however, to get their own friends and favourites into comfortable and snug places, by turning others out.

Yemishjí Hasan Páshá was deposed in the month of Rabia II. and assassinated in Jemadi II. following of this current year. In consequence of there having been no vezír in the diván at the death of the late grand vezír, who was considered worthy of wearing the robes of the premier, the seals were deposited, in the meantime, in the treasury of the Soleimáníyeh. Jeráh Páshá, the deputy of Constantinople, and his successor Kásim Páshá, attended to the duties peculiar to the premier's office till a new one was appointed, which was not long after. Yávuz Alí Páshá having been recalled from the government of Egypt, he appointed the oldest of the emirs of that province to act as his deputy, and immediately commenced his journey towards Constantinople. His near approach to that city was no sooner ascertained, than the seals of the grand vezírship were sent him by the hands of Kúli Dilsiz, a relation of his own. This took place in Jemadi II., about the time the late grand vezír was assassinated.

*The commencement of a rupture with Persia.*

This year, one thousand and twelve, is recognized in the history of the empire as a year of defection and rebellion. It was this year that the ungracious Sháh Abbás, the king of Persia, violated his engagements with the Sublime Porte, by stirring up rebellion and exercising tyranny and oppression on her frontiers. The governors and commanders on the frontier provinces had hitherto manifested the strictest obedience and good government, but now became tyrants through the influence of Persia. Neglecting the law of God and despising the commands of the emperor, they began to exercise their tyranny and oppression not only on the peasantry but even

on those in power. In short, the Persians succeeded amazingly in perverting and corrupting the hitherto faithful Moslems on the frontiers.

Amongst those who had been thus gained over by one means or other to the side of the heretical Persians was one Ghází Beg, a descendant of Sháh Kúlí of Kurdistán, and governor of Silmás. He and some of his followers dreading the resentment of the Sublime Porte, wrote letters to the Persian sháh to take them under his protection, and requested him to send them aid. The fox-like sháh, however, cunningly put off granting them their request for some little time, thinking it too early for bringing about the base designs he had formed against the Osmánlis. He, however, sent to Ghází Beg, by a hypocritical impure wretch of the name of Jemshíd, a cap, a sword, and a shawl, flattering him with every sort of promise of support from the sháh. Ghází Beg, thinking he had got all he wanted, began to force the people of his government to wear caps similar to the heretical one which was sent to him, instead of those they usually wore. In short, Ghází Beg and his associates became complete heretics and did not scruple to show it.

The people of Tabríz were thrown into a state of great rage and indignation at this conduct, and determined on making Ghází Beg and his followers to feel it. They accordingly resolved on calling to their aid the people of Nakhcheván, a city not far from Tabríz, in the view of bringing the people of Silmás to an account for their infidelity and heresy. This mission was committed to the care of the váli of the province of Tabríz, Alí Páshá, who, along with others who had accompanied him, no sooner reached Nakhcheván, than they made known to the citizens the purport of their embassy. Adherence to the emperor of the Muselmans, on the one hand, and the chastisement of the apostate sháh, on the other, was the burden of their message and the subject of consultation. The enlightened vezír, Sheríf Páshá, váli of Reván (Erivan), in the view of suppressing the rising rebellion and corruption, wrote to all quarters, exhorting every one to lend his aid to this good work; but without any good effect. Finding his exhortations had not been attended to, he ordered his deputy, Osmán Aghá, to march with a general army against the heretics; but carefully warned them to show the heretics, in the first instance, forbearance and compassion.

"If they," said the mild páshá, "abjure their heresy and return to the bosom of Islamism again, well; if not, then you must commence a regular war against them." The troops from Nakhcheván and those of Tabriz met at a place which had been previously fixed on; but before proceeding to extremities they, in conformity to the orders received from the páshá, first despatched a messenger to recall the heretics in question to their ancient faith. The proud and haughty apostates, however, were not to be gained over in that way. They had taken refuge in the fortress called Karní Yáruk, and from their batteries answered the Moslem messenger with the sound of cannon and musketry, as a token of defiance. This was enough: the means of recalling them to the true faith had been employed, but were contemptuously rejected; it was therefore proper to attempt their reduction by force. The Moslem and orthodox army accordingly advanced and environed Karní Yáruk with the view of laying siege to it, notwithstanding its immense elevation and great strength. With the utmost care, and avoiding, as well as possible, the showers of bullets and arrows which were discharged from the ramparts of the garrison, they succeeded in mounting so far as to place their standard on its walls. After employing a whole week in scattering fire and death among the besieged, the author of the evil began to perceive that all further resistance would be vain, and, therefore, leaving his wife and child, threw himself over the wall of the garrison, and made the best of his way to the sháh. His sons and followers maintained their resistance for a day or two longer, and then proposed to capitulate. The orthodox permitted them to retire to any place they chose, and to take the whole of their property along with them; every Osmánli having been prohibited, in the strongest manner, laying a finger on them, or on their goods, which they were allowed to take along with them. After this fortress and a few others had been reduced under the Ottoman power, the troops of Nakhcheván and of Tabriz returned to their respective homes.

*The Sháh of Persia marches upon Tabriz.*

After the Kurd, Ghází Beg, had made his escape from Karní Yáruk, as above related, he made his way to the court of Persia, at Ispahan, where he related the dangers he had undergone and escaped, the success of the

Osmánlís, and earnestly and vehemently urged the Persian monarch to instant and open hostility against the Turks. He represented the country of the fire-worshippers, especially the principal city in it, Tabríz, as abounding with wealth, and that the treasury of it at that moment was full of money. He said, moreover, that the troops were very few, if any, and that that was a proper time for pillaging it.

This representation of the Kurd was all that was necessary for awakening the cupidity of the perverted sháh, who at once resolved on reducing the whole of that country under his own authority. This avaricious sháh, regardless of treaty and common faith, thought of nothing else but how he might succeed in the attempt. Two or three thousand of his best troops, Mamlúks, were pushed forward from Ispahan to Tabríz, by means of caravans, a journey of twenty days, but which these caravans accomplished in nine, such was the mighty haste they had made. On the 19th of Rabia II. they erected the standard of hostility in the plains of Tabríz.

A day or two after the appearance of these invaders the treacherous Zulfikár Khán, and a number of other rebels, to the number of fifteen thousand, collected together at a village belonging to some súffis, with the view of intercepting the Tabrízian army returning from Nakhcheván; and there they proposed to give them battle as soon as they arrived.

The Tabrízian warriors, after having parted with the Nakhchevánís, began to retrace their steps homewards, and had reached within a short distance of the very place where their enemies lay encamped, with the view of intercepting them and cutting them off. Their commander-in-chief, Alí Páshá, was made aware by letters of the state of matters, and of the defection which the presence of the Mamlúks had occasioned. These letters were sent him from some of the emirs on the frontiers; but to prevent discouragement arising in the minds of the Tabrízian warriors, and in order to keep them together, he kept the information he had received to himself, determined to meet the Persian heretics with his little orthodox band, only fifteen hundred, whatever might be the number that should oppose him.

On the morning of the 22d of the month last-mentioned, at sun-rise, the enemy presented themselves in battle array, their unfurled banners streaming in the air; and such was the majestic but terrific appearance

which this host of heretics showed, that it completely awed the little band of Tabrizian troops into something like terror. The sháh of the *red heads* (*i. e.* of the Persians) put his host, numerous as ants, into order, and his trumpets began to be sounded. This sight increased the terror of the Moslems; but they were determined to meet them, whatever might be the result. They did so, and fought the infidel host with a bravery altogether unparalleled; the skill and management they manifested was extraordinary. They scattered death and fury amidst the odious heretics. By their immense ardour, their hearts burning bright with the purest zeal, they successfully repulsed the successive assaults of the cold-hearted heretics, and fairly despoiled them of their vain-glorious appearance of valour. A noted rebel of the name of Gholám Alí Oghlí, who had acted in the capacity of a *cher-kají báshí* to the enemy, and who had manifested great bravery among the heretics, fell by the hands of the heroic Karah Hasan. When this circumstance happened, the cowardly and heartless heretics began to give way; they were evidently disheartened. It so happened, however, that at this time one Timúrjí Oghlí, a well-known person, but whose principles were more detestable than even those of the heretics, though he pretended every thing valorous, went over, nevertheless, to the enemy with a hundred of his followers; a circumstance, it must be acknowledged, which had a powerful effect in depressing the hearts of the faithful few.

But soon a fire broke out within them, which not only destroyed every thorn of doubt, but also burned up all the rubbish of their suspicious speculations, with regard to the point to be gained, when again, with redoubled valour, they set their faces firmly to the contest, and fought with such desperate courage as can hardly be described. The contest, however, was most unequal: a few hundreds against many thousands; but yet a most bloody one. Many a sultán's head remained bonnetless on the field of battle; many a khán's family was left unprotected in this most desperate struggle, which lasted from sun-rise till mid-day. True it is that the Tabrizians are a most bold, fierce, and heroic tribe; and yet, notwithstanding these qualities which shone in them so conspicuously on the above occasion, their caution and acuteness was such, that only ten or fifteen of them tasted the cup of martyrdom, a circumstance which seems truly



wonderful. It is recorded, that a man of immense strength, belonging to the Tabrízians, vanquished by his sword about sixty of the enemy, the greater part of whom he made thorns and briars for the fire of hell.

The result of the bloody contest we have to record was fatal to the Tabrízians. The hateful heretics, like a multitude of ants, ran upon their antagonists and overcame them by dint of numbers. On that lamentable day, Mohammed Páshá, who had formerly been governor of Nakhcheván, and the beglerbeg of Akhiska, Khalíl Páshá, after having blotted out of the book of life many of the red heads, fell martyrs on the field. Alí Páshá, himself a Tabrízian, the váli of the province, performed, on the above day, the most incredible acts of bravery recorded in history. The sháh himself could not help admiring the heroism which inspired Alí Páshá, and spoke with approbation of the wonderful feats he performed before him. In short, the sháh himself declared that had there not been treachery somewhere, the victory would not have been so easily won. Such of the brave Tabrízians as had not the good fortune of falling in battle contending with these hateful heretics were, of course, subjected to a fate which they esteem truly vile and abject. They were made prisoners.

The city and fortress of Tabríz, about the middle of the first Jemadi, after a siege of twenty-two days, yielded, on the conditions of their persons and property being respected. These the heretics promised, but failed most shamefully in fulfilling them. As soon as they got possession of Tabríz, they began to plunder and rob the inhabitants without mercy, made their persons slaves, and furthermore began to annoy them with the delirium of their heresy. The cazi effendí of the city, not choosing to submit to heretics, fled the city, and endeavoured to make his way to Wán, but he was pursued by some of the red heads, who cruelly murdered him on the road.

The heretical sháh, in addition to all the other enormities he and his despicable soldiery committed, violated also the chastity of the females of Tabríz, without ceremony and without compunction.

After Tabríz had fallen into the hands of these heretics, its inhabitants robbed and made slaves, and the women ravished, the sháh turned his

thoughts towards vanquishing other cities, and accordingly sent off troops in all directions. The sháh himself determined on the reduction of Nakhcheván, and therefore made every preparation for the attempt. Two days were spent in the plains of Tabríz in making them, during which time the heretics enjoyed themselves in eating and drinking.

One of those detachments sent out by the sháh was headed by a vile person of the name of Kesáb Hájí, a noted heretic of Urdúbád, his native city, and famous from ancient times for its heresy and atheism. When the Osmánlís first conquered this city, for it was at the time we are speaking of under the Ottoman dominion, it was wonderfully raised and exalted by means of the self-evident and convincing doctrines of the Koran, which were introduced amongst its inhabitants; but the wicked people, notwithstanding, turned again to their beloved heresy. Kesáb Hájí, with the troops committed to his charge, marched upon this city. His thorough acquaintance with the people, and his knowledge of the country round about, pointed him out as the most fit person for the undertaking. When this corrupted fellow, and his no less corrupted soldiery had crossed the river near Urdúbád, and appeared before the walls of the city, the hypocritical and disaffected inhabitants came forth to meet them with demonstrations of joy, and hastened to show them all the honour and respect they were able. As a proof of the sincerity of their joy they garnished their houses and streets, shaved their under-beard, and changed the make of their garments. In this way, and by these means, the city of Urdúbád, or otherwise called Sawed Kallah, was taken.

For a day or two the Ottoman garrison in the fortress showed some disposition to maintain the place and respect the honour of the sultán; but the inhabitants of the country came forward to the aid of the invaders, and with their assistance the walls were thrown down, the arms of the garrison and also their property, whatever it was, the conquerors distributed among themselves, and afterwards gave themselves up to eating and drinking.

Another, of the name of Cherak Sultán, commanded a second of those companies or cohorts sent out by the heretical sháh, and was ordered to attack a village called Gelha, which, with the aid of its inhabitants, he took

without opposition. Mustafa Aghá, who had been sent thither by the court of Constantinople for the purpose of collecting and managing grain and fruit, with difficulty escaped with his head.

Several other places were subjected in a similar manner, and the heretics spared no means whatever in accomplishing their purposes against the Osmánlis. Information reached Nakhcheván of the success which had attended the enemy every where, and of the tyranny and oppression they exercised over the lives and fortunes of those who had been so unhappy as to fall into their hands. The Nakhchevánis were greatly distressed, and fear seized them. However, a reverse of fortune seemed to be awaiting the orthodox believers. Kesáb Háji, who had subdued Urdúbád, remained in it as governor and commander in the name of the sháh of Persia, but his exaltation was not of long duration. The váli of Reván, Sheríf Páshá, an aged and experienced general, perceiving the general defection, and that there was no end to it, was roused to indignation, and determined on endeavouring to stop the torrent that seemed to threaten the whole of the Osmánli dominions in that quarter. He accordingly deputed Mohammed Páshá, son of Khezer Páshá, to march against Urdúbád with five or six hundred veterans and surprise its new governor. These veterans, with the speed of messengers of death, arrived one morning before daylight at the place of their destination, and, as a visitation from heaven, fell upon the wretched heretics with such sudden fury and effect, that only a few of them escaped the edge of the sword. Those of them who did escape the vengeance of the orthodox Moslems, fled into holes and caves in the mountains and in the fields and hid themselves. Kesáb Háji, who by some means or other had been deprived of his horse, scampered off from the scene of carnage, and, like a fox, secreted himself in a den, leaving his associates to struggle the best way they could : but it was to no purpose ; he did not save himself ; for one of the veteran Moslems having perceived him, followed him into his hole, and seized him. His associate in the government of Urdúbád, one Beyendur, suffered the death due to his villany and crimes ; but Kesáb Háji himself, though he was afterwards put to death, had the honour of having a crown of infamy placed on his head, was dragged by Mohammed Páshá to the residence of the váli, and along with the whole

of the severed heads of the infidels of Urdúbád, was presented in his presence. The judicious and experienced váli failed not to pay all due respect to the hero of the victorious Moslems.

It is worthy of remark, however, that the enemy no sooner came to know of the movements of the Moslems, in reference to Urdúbád, than they sent off a considerable force in the view of succouring the heretics in it, in the event of the Moslems offering to subdue that city. They were too late, however, to gain their object, and when they heard of its fate they retraced their steps.

*The capture of Nakhcheván.*

The fortress or city of Nakhcheván was a place of no great strength, having been built of weak materials. Most of its buildings were made of clay and mortar; its walls low; and ever since the time the greater part of them were thrown down, provisions have not been very plentiful in it. But it was near to Reván, and if it happened at any time to be deprived of the aid of the military, and was in danger from enemies, Reván formed a near and accessible asylum for their families and property, and whence they might easily annoy their enemies. Reván itself was exceedingly strong and well fortified, having abundance of cannon and provisions within it. A river, like Kokjeh-sú, ran under its walls, and the country every where around it was fertile. Such at least was the account of it which its rulers, at that time, sent to the sháh when they had reason to expect the place was likely to be subjected to difficulties, and which was conveyed to him by one Mohammed Aghá, an officer of the páshá.

The heretics, notwithstanding the several checks which they had received, continued, nevertheless, to make encroachments on the Moslem frontiers. Nakhcheván fell into their hands, and some other places also; but though they struggled hard, for three successive days, to reduce Reván, they were, in the end, obliged to retreat, leaving nearly two hundred of their number on the field, whilst only six or seven of the Moslems met their death in the contest.

When the news of the sháh's perfidious breach of the peace, and of the disastrous events which followed thereon, reached the court of Constan-

tinople, the emperor and his ministers were plunged into a state of the greatest surprise and consternation. The communications which had announced this unwelcome intelligence were despatched by Sâa'tjî Hasan Pâshâ, who had been sent to the government of Erzerûm, and by Sherîf Pâshâ, governor of Nakhchevân and Revân. The intelligence referred to, not only spoke, in particular, of the conquests which the shâh had gained on the frontiers, and of his having put Alî Pâshâ, beglerbeg of Tabriz, in irons; but also depicted, in the strongest and most explicit manner, that unless a speedy and efficient reinforcement were afforded the Moslems in Asia, not only Revân but other important cities would, unquestionably, fall into the hands of the heretics.

Such were the alarming accounts which, at this period, troubled the Sublime Porte; but they were no sooner received than the kâimakâm, the civil and military governor of Constantinople, immediately despatched an officer to assemble together the mufti, the vezîrs and the military judges, in order to lay these important matters before them. This council, after having fully considered the various topics which had been submitted to them, sent a report of their deliberations to his august majesty, who was pleased to express his approbation of their resolutions. Sâa'tjî Hasan Pâshâ was, accordingly, appointed to the chief command in the east: and whatever number of troops and apparatus of war he might require for effectually repelling the heretics, were likewise ordered to be sent to him forthwith. An imperial edict, in conformity with these resolutions, was immediately issued to the various commanders in the eastern provinces; but in consequence of the emperor's translation to another world, an event which took place soon after the issuing of the above edict, the preparations in favour of Sâa'tjî Hasan Pâshâ were necessarily postponed for awhile.

*Death of Sultân Mohammed Khân, son of Murâd Khân.*

On the 22d of Jemadi II., as the emperor, Sultân Mohammed Khân, was returning to his royal palace from some place where he had been, he was met by an inspired person, at the head of the street which conducted to his royal mansion, who cried out, that in fifty-six days a very important event would happen, and then warned his majesty to take care of himself. This

extraordinary and unexpected mode of salutation not only surprised his august majesty, as well it might, but also the whole of the citizens. It so happened, that on the 14th of Rajab the emperor's constitution became so very much altered and weakened as altogether to baffle the skill and advice of his medical advisers. Nothing that they could devise had the least effect in affording him any relief, and in four days afterwards, on the 18th of the above month, his triumphant spirit, in the thirty-seventh year and eighth month of his age, took its flight to the upper world; having reigned nine years and two months.

Sultán Ahmed Khán, the heir apparent, was declared his father's successor, and early on the following morning, the whole of the vezírs, emírs, and other magnates of the state, assembled in the royal diván to express their allegiance to the new emperor, and to do him the honours peculiar on such an occasion. The royal coffin for the deceased monarch was brought into the court of the palace, where an immense multitude had collected to hear the funeral service performed by the reverend mufti, Mustafa Effendí. This ceremony being over, the royal remains were removed and deposited in a tomb in St. Sophia, near that of Sultán Selím.

Sultán Mohammed Khán was a prince who possessed rare talents and acquirements. His manners were grave, and his deportment polite and dignified, though it had something of severity in it. He was kind, generous and benevolent, and most attentive to the duties of religion, but at the same time most strict in the administration of justice. He uniformly maintained a punctual regard to the appointed or canonical hours of devotion; and, in short, was a bright example of religion and piety to the whole of the community. The fame of his virtues, like those of his exalted progenitors, have all been embalmed in the poetry of his people.

Of his noble and exalted sons, Sultán Selím entered Paradise on the 3d of Ramazan 1005. The cup of martyrdom was administered to Sultán Mahmúd on the 27th of Dhúl hijja 1011. *Note.* It has been recorded that a certain sheikh had announced to Sultán Mohammed Khán, that this young prince had formed the design of ascending the Ottoman throne, for which reason his father, as soon as he was made acquainted with the fact, employed the above sheikh to deprive him of his life. The prince, however, was innocent

of the charge laid against him. He was buried in the mausoleum allotted to the princes of the blood. Ahmed had the good fortune of succeeding his father, as we have already noticed, and Sultán Mustafa chose a retired life, though in the course of his eventful life he twice became emperor. Sultán Jehángír died in infancy.

*Of learned men.*

Ja'fer Effendí died in 982 of the Hijrah; Haider Effendí in 988; Azemí Effendí in 990; Nováf Effendí in 1003.

*Concerning Grand Vezírs, and other great men.*

Sinán Páshá was three times grand vezír, and commander-in-chief of the troops which had been employed against Yanuk. When returning to Constantinople he was ordered into exile; and Ferhád Páshá, who was at that time káimakám, was created grand vezír a second time, and also commander-in-chief. He was, however, deposed at the time he was employed in erecting a bridge on the Danube when on his march to Valachia, and was murdered in 1004. Sinán Páshá was again created grand vezír in 1003. He went in great haste to chastise the rebel Michael, but after having surmounted great difficulties in the mud, in which he was very nearly lost, he returned in disgrace to Rusjuk. Lálá Mohammed Páshá succeeded Sinán in 1004, but died ten days after his exaltation to the premiership. Sinán Páshá succeeded a fifth time to the dignity of grand vezír. It was he who had induced the late emperor to take a personal share in the war with the infidels of the north. In Shaban of that same year he took his journey into the eternal world. Sinán was a native of Arnáúd, or Albania. He was, at the commencement of his career, a cup-bearer in the court of Selím II., and became successively military commander in the sanjaks of Malatiyeh, Kostamúní, Gaza, and Tripoli. He was afterwards made beglerbeg of Erzerúm, then of Haleb, and then again of Egypt. In consequence of some disturbance which had taken place in Yemen he was sent thither, though in the seventy-seventh year of his age, to quell it, which he did most successfully. He was again sent to Egypt, but was recalled to Constantinople, where he at once became vezír and head of the admiralty. In 980 he conquered Tunis, and returned at the time Sultán Murád Khán mounted



the throne, and became one of his vezírs. In his eighty-eighth year he was appointed to conduct the war against the Persians, and succeeded Ahmed Páshá in the grand vezírship. In 994 he was governor of Syria. In 997 he was again in the vezírship. In 999 he was deposed. In 1001 he was a third time created grand vezír. In 1003-4 he was out, and again in the same office. He was now very far advanced in age, being beyond ninety, when he fell ill of a very severe cold he had caught, and died of it on the 5th of Shaban 1004, and was buried near Tevekil Cheshmeh (the fountain of hope) in his own tomb. He was five times grand vezír and as often commander-in-chief. One hundred orations were pronounced throughout the empire in praise of this extraordinary man, who was considered third in rank to Raslim Páshá and Mohammed Páshá of former days.

Ibrahím Páshá, being second vezír, was raised to the premiership, and went out to the war. At the taking of Agria in 1005, Jeghála Zádeh Sinán Páshá was created grand vezír in Ibrahím's room; but forty-five days afterwards the latter was made grand vezír a second time. Khádem Hasan Páshá was created grand vezír in 1006, but was soon afterwards deposed and murdered. Jeráh Páshá succeeded him in office. Ibrahím Páshá was called a third time to adorn the office of premier, and died a short time after the taking of Kaniza. Yemishjí Hasan Páshá, who had arrived at the lofty preeminence of filling the offices of grand vezír and commander-in-chief, was, for his obstinacy and inhumanity, assassinated. Yávuz Alí Páshá, who had been recalled from the government of Egypt, was, in 1012, raised to the premiership. Khalíl Páshá was by birth a Bosnian. On his leaving the royal harem he advanced by degrees to various honours and places of trust, and at last became grand vezír, and son-in-law to his majesty. He was succeeded in the deputyship of Constantinople by Ibrahím Páshá, who was also created second vezír. He died on the 19th of Rajab, and was buried near Tekeli Tásh, opposite Alí Páshá's mosque. The eunuch, Háfez Ahmed Páshá, was also governor or deputy of Constantinople; and so was Saa'tjí Hasan Páshá, but was afterwards degraded. Gúzelcheh Mahmúd Páshá succeeded to the same high office, but having been implicated in one of the late tumults, he fled and remained concealed for a while. He rose again, however, to the dignity of vezír. Hasan Páshá, son of Sokollí Mo-

hammered Páshá, was shot by a musket-ball at Tokat. He was *válí* of Baghdád, and having marched to quell the rebellions which began to assume a formidable appearance in that quarter, he fell a martyr by their rebellious hands. The reader may easily recall to his memory this part of his history as recorded in a former part of this work. Sátúrjî Mohammed Páshá, who had conducted the unsuccessful war against Warad, was assassinated at Belgrade. Mustafa Páshá was the son of the honourable Razieh (a lady), and became a *vezír* of the *kubba*.\* Hájî Ibrahim Páshá having been routed by the rebels in the east, was deposed, and afterwards died a martyr in Egypt. Tarnákjî Hasan Páshá, who had been appointed governor of the province of Baghdád, on coming out from the royal palace after he had paid his respects to the emperor for the honour he had conferred on him, killed Yemishjî Hasan Páshá, the late grand *vezír*.

*Concerning the ulemá, or higher order of ecclesiastics.*

Sa'd-ud-dín Effendî Ben Hasanján, tutor or domestic chaplain to the late emperor, a very reverend judge in all ecclesiastical affairs, counsellor of state and privy counsellor to his majesty, was raised to all these high offices during the reign of the late monarch, and died on the 12th of Rabia II., 1008, whilst employed in celebrating, in St. Sophia, the service peculiar to his majesty's nativity. His remains were conveyed to the mosque erected by Sultán Mohammed, and were afterwards interred in a select spot in Abú-aiyúb. Siná-allah Effendî performed the funeral ceremony, and his four sons, all of them ulemá and pillars of religion and of the state, conveyed their father's remains to the place of interment. The very reverend Mohammedan father, Bostán, filled, on two occasions, the office of high priest: he died in 1007. Abdulmomín Mustafa Effendî succeeded Siná-allah Effendî during the disturbance which had taken place in the affair of Yemishjî Hasan Páshá, which we have already recorded. He was judge in Anatolia, and was raised by Yemishjî to the *muftiship*, but he became afterwards the cause of his benefactor's death. Abdulbákî, the famous Turkish poet, was repeatedly chief judge in Greece, but died whilst out of office in 1008. Hesám-ud-dín, the son of Karah Chelebî Effendî, was repeatedly chief

\* The *vezírs* of the *kubba* or cupola are those immediately under the grand *vezír*.

judge in Remeili, but died out of office in 1008. Ahmed-ul-nasárí was descended from Abdullah : he was one of the most excellent of men. Ibrahim Chelebí has given a very full and complete exposition of his *Multeka al Bahrín*.\* He was more than once chief judge in Greece; was thence translated into Egypt, and thence again to the Ka'ba, where he died. Muselleh-ud-dín Bostán Zádeh died after he had retired from the cazíship of Greece. The very reverend and learned Bostán Chelebí Zádeh died during his incumbency in Turkey. The dignified Mustafa Ebn Abú-as-sa'úd-al-omádi was successor to the last-mentioned, and died in 1008. The respectable Abdul helím died out of office. Kúsh Yabía Effendí retired from office in 1006, and died the following year at sea, on his way to Egypt. Many more names might be added to this list of learned and excellent men, but there would be no end of them, they are so numerous.

*Of the Mesháiekh, or priests.*

Sheikh Muhad ul hamíd wrote a commentary during the time he was preacher or lecturer in St. Sophia : he was a learned divine. Sheikh Khezer, the son of a distinguished officer, was a very learned man, and translated some excellent works. He fell a martyr in the battle of Agria. Sheikh Shems-ud-dín was a man of such uncommon abstemiousness, piety, sympathy, and fine feeling, as were not to be imitated. He exerted himself in the battle of Agria. He translated Imám A'zím's system of ethics into Turkish. He is the author of several other works. Sheikh Mírmírán was very conspicuous for his great temperance and piety. He was one of those authors who embellished their writings with drawings. He fell a martyr at the battle of Agria in company with Beyabáshí Zádeh, and his pure body was not afterwards found. Sheikh Mahmúd Effendí is noticed in the register of the reign of Murád : he was a man of great eminence, and was much esteemed by the reigning monarch in consequence of his political abilities. Sheikh Hasan Effendí was sheikh in Ibrahim Páshá's religious establishment : he went on a journey to Yemen, where he died. Sheikh Vaa'z was a man of the first-rate talents : he was preacher in the mosque of Soleimán ; on the days of assembly he expounded the doctrines of reli-

\* A work on Mohammedan jurisprudence.

gion to the people, and immediately after answered and explained difficult questions. He was strongly opposed to every thing inconsistent with religion, and laid the severest prohibitions on those who were guilty of transgressing the precepts of the true faith. Some of the nobles, on account of this very great strictness, spoke reproachfully of him, and once or twice got him banished the city; but by the gracious assistance of God he overcame his enemies, and was again allowed to return to the metropolis. Sheikh Ismáíl employed himself in the chapel or monastery of Galata in translating poetry. He left behind him a beautiful paraphrase or commentary on the Mesneví, or book of moral doctrines. His seven published volumes have not escaped the censure of some of the learned; but it must be acknowledged that he was a man of charming and excellent qualities. He died in 1012.

Sultán Ahmed Khán ascended the throne of the Ottomans on the 18th of Rajab, and began his regal authority by a written message to Kásim Páshá, the káimákám. This written message was folded in a napkin, and handed to a certain officer, who was desired to deliver it into Kásim's own hand. The officer being informed that the message committed to his charge was a royal one, hastened with all speed, and delivered it to his excellency the deputy. The deputy, however, found himself unable to read the communication, and therefore applied to the officer for information as to the person who sent it. The officer replied that the ághá of the palace had delivered it to him, and had told him at the same time it was a royal message. Kásim appeared exceedingly surprised, and said, the writing wanted the points, and was, therefore, unlike his majesty's manner of writing. The letters, continued he, cannot be deciphered, and of course the meaning cannot be discovered. He appeared as it were perplexed and confounded at this unaccountable circumstance, and called Hasan Beg Zádeh to read it to him. Hasan drew near to the páshá, and read and explained the mysterious document, which ran thus: "Thou art Kásim Páshá. My father, in the providence of God, is now no more, and I have ascended the throne of power. You shall maintain order and good government in the city. If any villany or wickedness should happen, I shall cut off your head. The conclusion of the sultán's words." Kásim had no sooner heard and

understood the import of the *khati sherif*, than he became absorbed in grief and astonishment: so much so, indeed, that many of his friends were led to think his health was affected; for none, except those in the palace, knew as yet any thing of the decease of Sultán Mohammed Khán, which had happened only a few hours before the message had been sent to Kásim. Kásim, however, thought of a contrivance by which he might know the utmost of a matter which he had reason to fear presaged no good to him. Accordingly, he wrote to the ághá of the palace, and stated, that he, a poor insignificant creature, had just received an imperial note, the meaning of which, however, he was incapable of discovering. "Perhaps," continued the sly and cunning deputy, "it may have been intended to try us, or it is an intimation that our services are no longer necessary. In either case, we hope you will have the goodness to remove our doubts upon the subject." This note was sent by the same person who had been the bearer of the imperial edict to himself; and it was not long before he was called into the chamber of audience, where he beheld Sultán Ahmed Khán sitting in great splendour on the chair of state, and who explained to him the meaning of the document which had alarmed him so much. Kásim Páshá kissed the ground and retired, and the sultán proceeded to the diván and took his seat on the royal chair. A messenger was immediately afterwards sent with a note to the mufti, informing him of what had happened at the palace, and orders were issued also to the ághá of the artificers to get a royal bier prepared; the nobles and grandees of the state were invited to assemble. The servants of the diván, when they saw the preparations that were going forward, supposed Sultán Mohammed Khán was coming forth, and that all the arrangements which had been made, and were making, were on his account. It was no such thing. A throne was erected, but it was not for him. Their eyes, however, were soon opened to the whole secret. The mufti, Mustafa Effendí, arrived, and proceeded along under the golden arch, accompanied by all the vezírs, until he and they reached the foot of a throne, which had purposely been erected for the occasion. The young prince, dressed in mourning, advanced towards them and saluted them; then approached the throne, and desired he might be inaugurated thereon. The Chávushes immediately raised their voices, and sounded his praises

to the third heaven. Silence being again obtained, the reverend mufti, the vezírs, and all the other dignitaries, approached him and congratulated the new emperor. This ceremony ended, the emperor made his salams and retired; the throne which had been erected was removed, and shortly afterwards all the vezírs, ulema, and great men, were supplied with black crape for their turbans; but such as were not furnished with this emblem of sorrow and respect for the deceased monarch, put black bands on their arms. All now waited without at the gate of the mansion of felicity for the appearance of the remains of Sultán Mohammed Khán.

At this time, notwithstanding the delicacy, as well as solemnity, of the occasion, Kásim Páshá could not hide the ambition which filled his breast. His eye and heart were on the grand vezírship, and without incurring the risk of delay, he tried to persuade the reverend mufti to sound his majesty on this point. The project, however, did not succeed.

The royal remains, after having been put into a coffin, were brought forth, and the reverend mufti performed the funeral ceremonies, according to custom. Ahmed, the new emperor, retired within the palace; and the vezírs and great men accompanied the royal bier to St. Sophia, where the corpse was interred in the royal sepulchre. Provisions were distributed amongst the poor and orphans in the city, for the benefit of the soul of the deceased, and other acts of charity were performed with the same view.

The ambitious Kásim Páshá sought to ingratiate himself into the favour of the new emperor, and desired to be called into his presence. His efforts, however, not only failed, but terminated in a prohibition of his approaching his sacred majesty on any account whatever. Once more despair became his companion; he however found courage and confidence to try his fortune once more. Having neglected or forgotten on the day of inauguration to show respect to Mustafa Effendí, the emperor's spiritual guide, and hearing that he was held in great estimation by his master, he sent a deputation to him with splendid gifts and presents, with the view of gaining his good offices in his behalf; but he was again thwarted. Alí Páshá, *i. e.* Yáyuz Alí Páshá, the grand vezír, who was now in power, and possessed

great influence in his majesty's counsels, was the person who caused Kásim Páshá's removal and banishment from court altogether.

*The arrival of the fleet.—Concerning the grand vezír, Yávuz Ali Páshá.*

It so happened that the very day on which his majesty's inauguration was performed the royal fleet arrived from the Mediterranean, and the admiral, Jeghala Zádeh Sinán Páshá, had the honour of kissing the new emperor's hand. The admiral, by that imperial command, was decorated with a robe of honour.

Yávuz Ali Páshá had been recalled from Egypt with the view of being raised to the premiership; and though the seals of office had been actually sent to him when it was known that he had arrived in Turkey, yet he did not reach Constantinople till the 25th of Rajab. On arriving there he waited on his royal master, and afterwards went to the royal diván where he took his seat in it. The vezírs and the military judges also attended, and sat in their respective places. To the new minister was committed the distribution of the emperor's munificence on his exaltation to the throne of his fathers, and he, it must be observed, brought with him from Egypt two years' arrears of taxes; a circumstance, no doubt, which rendered it more easy for him to be liberal than perhaps he otherwise could have been. Seven hundred thousand pieces of gold were accordingly taken from the royal treasury, and sent to the various troops throughout the empire. This fact alone was a sufficient indication of the wide extent of the pecuniary resources of the Ottoman government, and may well excite surprise: but the fact is certain, and Ali Páshá, by whose means this handsome, but vast sum, was allotted for the use of the military and naval services, had no sooner made the necessary arrangements respecting its distribution, than he dressed himself in his ministerial robes, and went to the palace of Siávush Páshá to hold a council. Hereupon Kásim Páshá, the káimakám and second vezír, and Kúrd Páshá, third vezír, by virtue of their offices, entered and took their seats. The result of the deliberations of the council (at which Ali Páshá, the grand vezír, presided), was in the passing of some wholesome regulations with respect to just and equitable



government, which materially affected the iron hand of oppression and tyranny in some quarters. The council, after having fixed the tariff or tax to be paid to the government, and settled other points of importance to the due administration of law and justice, the people were regularly warned to take care not to trespass on these and similar regulations.

In the beginning of Shaban, the orthodox emperor went in solemn procession to the tomb of his fathers, and there performed the duty and showed the respect due to their memory. On the second day of the month the money which Alí Pásha brought with him from Egypt was transferred to the imperial treasury. On the same day Mustafa Aghá, the ághá of the kapú, who was very old and infirm, was removed from office, and Kór Mohammed Aghá, the ághá of the seraglio, was appointed in his stead. On the 6th, the mother of the deceased emperor was removed to the old palace. Abdul-rezák Aghá, ághá of the royal palace, was removed from office, and replaced by Mustafa Aghá. On the 20th his majesty attended divine service and performed his devotions in the mosque of Soleimaníyeh; and at night a convivial meeting was held in the royal palace in honour of the founder of the Moslem faith, with every demonstration of joy. The same religious ceremony was also observed throughout other cities. But on the festival day, which soon followed, the fear of increasing a disorder with which the emperor was afflicted, prevented his showing himself to the people, a circumstance which turned their joy into sorrow. He was confined the whole of the day to his palace, owing to the great pain he suffered, which, however, soon abated; and he speedily recovered.

*Alí Páshá, grand vezir, is appointed Commander-in-chief over the troops employed against Hungary, and Jekhala Zúdeh is appointed to the command in the East.*

The emperor of Austria continuing to carry on his hostilities in the north, and Sháh Abbás having unfurled the standard of rebellion against the Ottoman empire in the east, it was considered absolutely necessary, in order to support the glory of the empire, to aid in the most vigorous manner the troops which had been sent to both these quarters. Accord-

ingly, on the 1st of Ramazan, the grand vezír, Alí Páshá, was appointed to command the troops employed against the perverse and wicked Hungarians; and, in three days afterwards, he relinquished for a while the premiership. The actual kapúdán, or admiral, Jeghala Zádeh Sinán Páshá, was appointed at the same time to conduct the Moslem armies against the mixed horde of red-heads (*i. e.* the Persians). These two military heroes made all due preparations for their respective expeditions. Jeghala, with the troops appointed to accompany him from Constantinople, passed over to Scutari on the 15th of Dhu'l hijja. The grand vezír, however, put off his departure till the commencement of the following year. Hasan Beg Zádeh says in his history, that it was in a council held in the grand vezír's palace that Jeghala Zádeh was appointed to the command of the eastern troops; but that the grand vezír himself, preferring to remain at the helm of affairs, wished some one of the other vezírs to be appointed general against the infidels in the north. He proposed this himself, and added that he would attend to what was necessary for both armies, and send them such a supply of men and arms as they might require. This proposal was not opposed by those who were present on the occasion; but the mufti hearing of it, declared it to be absolutely necessary that the grand vezír himself should take the command; and in a subsequent council, where he was present, maintained that unless the grand vezír took the command nothing would be done. "Therefore," said he to his face, "you must be the person to take the command of the troops in the north, and setting aside all excuse, you must prepare to set out." Such was the bold and intrepid way the mufti addressed him, and at length persuaded the emperor to issue his firman accordingly. The grand vezír, however, tried several methods to rid himself of the appointment; but finding his efforts unsuccessful, he commenced making arrangements for the journey which lay before him.

*A variety of changes in the ecclesiastical and military establishments.*

Asa'd Effendí succeeded to the spiritual jurisdiction of Romeili in the room of the mufti's son-in-law. On the 22d of Dhu'l hijja, the cazi of Constantinople, Káfzádeh Feizallah, was degraded, and his office conferred

on Yehia Effendí. Hasan Páshá, beglerbeg of Yemèn, was appointed, towards the end of Rajab, to the government of Egypt; and his deputy, Sinán Ketkhodá, was made beglerbeg of Yemen in his room.

Kásim Páshá, lately deputy or governor of the Sublime Porte, who, as we have seen, had been anxious to be made grand vezír, was sadly disappointed in his views. The grand vezírship had been conferred by his late majesty on Alí Páshá; and however fit Kásim might have been for holding that high office, yet it could not, without a breach of faith and the most palpable injustice, be conferred on him. His conduct, in fact, showed him, in every point of view to have been wholly unworthy of the high distinction he so ambitiously and so perseveringly sought. He was, however, appointed to hold some office in the city of Baghdád, but neglecting to set off for that city he awakened the displeasure of the grand vezír, who ordered him forthwith to set out for Scutari. Here again he loitered away his time, and it was not till the expiration of several months that he was again forced to proceed. On reaching Yenischeher, he soon began to oppress and tyrannize over the inhabitants in the most shameful manner, but this he expiated with his life. We shall have to advert to this man's conduct and death when we come to relate the events of the following year. About the end of Shevál, Mohammed Páshá, son of Sinán Páshá, who had been removed from the government of Shám (Syria), but had become a vezír, was created beglerbeg of Caramania. Hají Ibrahim Páshá, who had risen from a defterdar to the rank of beglerbeg, was appointed to the government of Mesir (Egypt); and Mustafa Páshá, son of Razieh Khán, was raised to the government of Shám. Ferhád Páshá, who at first had been only a bostanjí báshí, but was at this time commandant in Shám, was raised to the beglerbegship of Haleb (Aleppo), and the válí of Haleb to that of Sivás. All these appointments were effected by the instrumentality of Alí Páshá, the grand vezír. Evils resulted from some of those appointments, and there were not wanting a class of persons who were much dissatisfied. Murád Páshá, the heroic commander in Buda, was appointed to a special vezírship; and he, with the vezír Hasan Páshá, who had been válí of Yemen, were recalled to the Sublime Porte. Súfi Sinán Páshá, on whom the dignity of vezír

had been conferred, but who had not hitherto had the honour of taking his seat in the diván, was now called on to do so. On the 6th of Dhu'l Kadah, Khoja Ahmed Aghá, ághá of the janissaries, was degraded, and the second kapújí bashí, Nukásh Hasan Aghá, was appointed in his stead.

*Some further account of Delí Hasan (brother of Scrivano).*

To a considerable part of this man's life and conduct we have already adverted. We have related how he succeeded to the command of the insurgents whom his brother, Karah Yazejí (Scrivano, literally the Black Writer) had headed: how he defeated and slew Hasan Páshá at Tokat. These things are well known; and it is not to be denied, that it was only when it was found impracticable to overcome him by arms that the tempting offer of the government of Bosnia made him at least feign submission. Many were the enormities which this man committed, and his success was wonderful. When he went to Belgrade, as observed in a former section of this work, he sent his lieutenant to Bosna Serái. This deputy, whose name was Kúrd Ketkhodá, had imbibed the spirit of his superior; for he perpetrated the most dreadful acts of tyranny and savage oppression throughout the country of Bosnia. So terrible and so numerous were the base deeds of this execrable fellow, that the inhabitants determined on resistance. It was not long ere an opportunity offered for putting their determination into practice. Having one day seized on a servant belonging to some tanners he put him in chains, and this so roused the resentment of the inhabitants that they all rushed towards his palace and set fire to it. One Khulpil, an apprentice, slew Kúrd Ketkhodá himself, and the whole of his mansion perished with him. The people of Banialúka also, with one consent, drove out of their city such of his creatures as were in it.

As to Delí Hasan himself, he appeared at one time worthy of confidence, and at another the very reverse. Most of the men who had accompanied him from Asia perished in the late war, and those of them who returned with him to Bosnia met with no kind reception there. The inhabitants could not endure the sight of them, and therefore appointed to themselves a leader from among their own emírs, whose name was Sefer. They also

wrote to the commander-in-chief, Mohammed Páshá, declaring they were resolved to oppose the tyrants who had come among them; and they kept their word; but in their first attack on Delí Hasan and his barbarians they were worsted. However, gaining experience by their disaster, they were better prepared for a second attempt, in which they were completely triumphant. They not only defeated the barbarians, but seized on the whole of Delí Hasan's baggage. Delí Hasan escaped with his life with great difficulty by swimming across the deep river which passes Izverník, and sent Sháh-verdí, his acting lieutenant, to the commander-in-chief at Belgrade with a complaint against the Bosnians. Sháh-verdí, however, never once thought of returning to tell him what success he had met with. The commander-in-chief, more generous than his ambassador, sent him an officer to console him, and afterwards succeeded in persuading the government of Constantinople to appoint him to the jurisdiction of Temisvar in lieu of that of Bosnia.

*Continuation of the account of the war carried on against the heretics.—The Sháh reduces Reván.*

We come now to relate, that though the sháh's troops had been repulsed before Reván in their first attempts against that city, they at last prevailed. The sháh having again resumed his operations against Reván, pressed the besieged exceedingly, and afterwards sent a messenger to the inhabitants, calling upon them to capitulate. The Revánís, however, were not so disposed, and in their zeal slew the messenger, in order to convince the sháh how determined they were. The sháh was exasperated at this, collected his whole force against their city, and redoubled his efforts; and in consequence of his having succeeded in destroying the aqueducts which conveyed water under-ground into the city, he by this means subjected them to a famine of water, a most dreadful privation. They, however, managed to collect so much of this necessary element in wells and ditches within the city, as in some measure to assuage their thirst, and were thus enabled to maintain their defiance of the enemy. Finding, however, that continued resistance only augmented their danger; that their resources were daily becoming less, and that they were wholly cut off from receiving

any succour whatever from the Moslem army, they became totally dispirited. Exertion and deaths weakened them so much that the enemy at length, by one vigorous assault, took the city. Many of the Sunnis were made prisoners by the conquerors, but the greater part of them perished by their swords. Thus fell Reván, after a siege of seven weeks. At the commencement of the siege the number of the inhabitants amounted to five or six thousand. One thousand five hundred of this number died in defence of their city, and about five hundred were carried off by death. About one half of the whole became traitors, so that, in fact, only five hundred, at most, was the whole strength of Reván when it fell into the hands of the red-heads.

*The Sháh conquers Shirwán.*

According to the celebrated historian, Hasan Beg Zâdeh, Ketâbjî Omar Pâshâ succeeded Khâdem Hasan Pâshâ as governor of Shirwán; but he having been deposed, the government was conferred on Mahmúd Pâshâ, son of Jeghâla Zâdeh Sinán Pâshâ. Alaja Atlú Hasan Pâshâ, who had distinguished himself by his bravery and heroism in the wars in Hungary, being appointed to the government of Erzerúm, sent thither one Mustafa Chávush, a relation of his wife, a most extraordinary man, as his deputy, but this man from the severity of his conduct excited the people of Erzerúm, proverbial for their ferocity, to acts of violence. They stoned and banished the poor deputy out of the city, and grasped the whole of his property. The governor himself, on hearing of these outrages, went to Shirwán, but the inhabitants were determined that neither he nor his deputy should enter their city; they however delivered back the things they had seized. Hasan Pâshâ had no alternative left him but to send a representation of the case to the court of Constantinople, whence he received a letter, appointing him to the government of Shirwán. This new appointment, it would seem, was made before Mahmúd Pâshâ, also a vézír's son, and governor of Shirwán, was apprized of his having been superseded by Hasan Pâshâ. Hasan Pâshâ, however, having spent about a month before he thought of proceeding to his new government, died ere he commenced the journey, and Mahmúd was confirmed in his superiority of Shirwán. It has been said

been said that his death had been occasioned by a poisonous draught administered to him at a feast at which he had been present.

The Kuzil báshes at this time advanced on Shumakhai and took it, and shortly afterwards Shirwán met with the same fate. Mohammed Effendi, who was academical lecturer of Karah Bágh, relates that Sháh Abbás spared neither young nor old, but subjected all to a general slaughter with a recklessness not to be described. Mahmúd Páshá happened to be at Shumakhai when it was attacked, but made his escape to Greece.

*Kars is besieged.—Other acts of hostility by the red-heads.*

Hasan Beg Zádeh relates, that when Sháh Abbás had laid siege to Reván, or shortly after, Sheríf Mohammed Páshá, having obtained the promise of personal security, went to wait on the sháh, who in the most cowardly and barbarous manner slew him. It was during the time the sháh was engaged in reducing the above-mentioned city, that a division of the Persian army, under the command of Emír Gunah Khán, was sent to reduce the fortress of Akcha Kalla. Emír Gunah Khán having succeeded in the taking of Akcha Kalla without fighting a single battle, drove the whole of the Armenian peasantry in that quarter to Ispahan. The country around Reván, having fallen into the hands of the enemy, was conferred on this heretical chief.

After the sháh had accomplished the reduction of Reván, he led his forces against Kars, and laid siege to it. The warriors of Kars, and about four hundred Osmánlis, who had escaped thither from Reván, the greater part of whom were wounded, were animated by such a spirit of valour as vigorously to resist the invading host. The perverted sháh was completely enraged; and sent them word, that when he took the place he would not spare one of them.

Kurus, another place, but of less note, also fell into the hands of the enemy, but the poor Musselmans who had escaped were surrounded by Gusah Sefer Páshá, emír of Erzerúm. About this same time also, the enemy attempted the taking of Akhiska, at least they manifested a disposition to do so; but God protected it. Karah Kash Páshá was, at that time, hákim or governor of Akhiska, and was present in it when this hostile



disposition was manifested. Three hundred Persians, who had advanced with full purpose of attacking the above place, took up their quarters in a large dwelling not far from it, in which they gave themselves up to most shameful actions. Thither they collected the females belonging to the Armenian peasantry, and carried on with them the most obscene courses. Their husbands, of course, were enraged at seeing their wives thus used; and, therefore, secretly sent word to Sefer Sherif Páshá; who, without loss of time, attacked them with the few men who had escaped from Reván. The mode of attack was rather singular: they made a hole in the roof of the house wherein these voluptuous wretches had taken up their quarters, and after they had fairly entered it, they rose up and slew every one of these drunken revellers, who never once dreamt of the destruction that awaited them. Their heads were severed from their bodies and sent to Constantinople.

Sherif Páshá, and also Karah Kash Páshá, to whom we have been referring, perished in a defeat which Jeghala Zâdeh afterwards sustained. It is said in the Fezliké, however, that the sháh, after he had conquered Reván, shewed very great respect to Sherif Páshá, and conferred on him the superintendence of the mosques and other religious establishments; and also that Sherif Páshá spent the remainder of his life at Meshhed. About four hundred families who had accepted of offers which the sháh had made them, were all sent off to Kurus under the charge of Mohammed Páshá, son of Khezer Páshá.

About this period, Sâa'tji Hasan Páshá, the beglerbeg of Erzerúm, and the commander-in-chief of the Turkish forces in the east, died, and the troops became dispersed; but before we can attend further to the relation of the affairs of the east, we have to commence the events of the following year.

#### EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1013, H.

On the 20th of Moharrem, a tremendous earthquake, which happened at Bassra, effected the demolition of the greater number of houses, both inside and outside of the city, and under their ruins many thousand individuals perished.

*The grand vezir, Ali Páshá, sets out for Belgrade.*

We have noticed in a former section of this work the great reluctance the grand vezir, Ali Páshá, had evinced against going to the Hungarian wars, and how strenuously he had endeavoured to get his appointment as commander-in-chief over the forces employed on the Hungarian frontiers countermanded, but to no purpose. All he could do or say had no effect in altering the determination of the emperor. He was obliged to proceed. The Bosnian and Romeilian troops, the ághá of the janissaries, six legions of spáhís, and other divisions of troops were appointed to accompany the grand vezir. The lord high treasurer, Etmekji Zâdeh, was also ordered to join the expedition.

The grand vezir, previous to his departure, appointed Súfi Sinán Páshá his deputy, in room of Háfiz Ahmed Páshá, whom he intended to send to the government of Bosnia. Háfiz Ahmed Páshá retired into a garden on the outside of the city, and there remained five or ten days, under the pretence of waiting for the arrival of camels and mules to enable him to commence his journey to Bosnia. When the prime minister learned, however, that Háfiz Ahmed Páshá delayed in the manner he did, he sent him the most peremptory orders to set out without any further delay. He intimated, moreover, in a note which he afterwards sent him, that his obstinacy would force him to be guilty of shedding blood. "If you will not obey," said the haughty premier, "I shall come in person and terminate your existence upon earth." This intimation was enough to convince Háfiz that his life was in actual danger, and he now did all he could to show that he was earnest in obeying the injunctions which had been laid upon him, though he secretly, at the same time, endeavoured to thwart the views of the premier.

The grand vezir, Ali Pásha, at length left Constantinople, and with great pomp and show proceeded to Dávud Páshá, where his tent had been erected for him. The grandees and nobles of every rank accompanied the illustrious commander, and showed him every mark of esteem and respect; and it is certainly true that no vezir ever met with more honour from any emperor than did Ali Páshá from the reigning monarch. On the fifth day

of the above month his imperial majesty accompanied the heroic army as far as Halkalú, where he took a view of them from his lofty palace, and admired the splendid appearance they presented. The grand vezír, on this occasion, requested his majesty to order the funds necessary for conducting his army and carrying on the war to be sent him; but whilst waiting at the above place for the anticipated ducats, he received a most threatening royal letter, which intimated to him in the plainest terms, that, if he wished to keep his head on his shoulders, he must not delay his march one single day longer. The grand vezír, compelled to activity, was making arrangements the following day for complying with the threatening intimation which had been sent him, when it began to be rumoured that the bostánjí báhí had been sent by royal orders to call Háfiz Ahmed Páshá to court, and that he was appointed by royal commission to the káimakámship of Constantinople. Súfi Sinán Páshá, who had been appointed to this high office by the grand vezír, as before observed, had actually entered on the duties of the deputyship, and had done the customary obeisance to the emperor after his appointment: such, indeed, was the fact. On the Friday of that week, as Háfiz Ahmed Páshá was performing his devotions, the royal commission appointing him to the deputyship of Constantinople reached him. He accordingly without delay repaired to his own palace, and ordered the diván to meet on the following day. He also sent his saláms (compliments) to Súfi Sinán Páshá, and with the view of making him acquainted with the change his majesty had thought proper to make, desired him likewise to attend. Súfi Sinán, when he saw Háfiz's messenger, thought, at first, he was come from Ali Páshá, and asked him if the grand vezír had sent him. "No," said the officer, "it was Háfiz Ahmed Páshá." "Am I to understand by this message," asked Súfi Sinán, with some degree of surprise, "that Háfiz is appointed káimakám?" The officer answered in the affirmative. Súfi Sinán, on having his doubts solved, rose up and went to congratulate Háfiz on his appointment, as if he had been altogether a neutral person, and in no way affected by the change.

Early next morning, Háfiz Ahmed Páshá went to the diván, where he caused several propositions to be drawn up in reference to the two holy cities, Mecca and Medina, which were afterwards read in the presence of his

majesty. Before the members of the diván had dismissed, however, he caused another paper to be drawn out, wherein he asked permission to go and see the grand vezír. This paper he folded up with the other papers relative to Mecca and Medina, and laid them before the throne; returned to his own palace, he ordered his horse to be in readiness, as he meant, he said, to set out on a journey to Chatálíjeh, a considerable distance from Constantinople. The distance however, on the one hand, and the heat of the weather on the other, he considered were so great that he should be unable to be back in time for the meeting of the diván on the following day; he therefore gave up all idea of proceeding, and entering into a secret chamber, commenced talking of visiting his majesty and the grand vezír. Whilst his domestics were wondering in themselves what he would next take into his head, an officer from the emperor's chaplain arrived, and advised the páshá not to go to the vezír. "There was no need for it," he said; "besides the grand vezír was a furious man, and might offer him some disrespect." Such was the import of the officer's advice, which he had been desired to communicate by his master to Háfiz. However, Háfiz was successful in another way, which was this: One Kullili Dilsiz soon afterwards called on Háfiz, and told him that he was carrying letters to the grand vezír from the emperor, which had some reference to him, and advised him to take an opportunity of following him. He did so; had an interview with the grand vezír at Chatálíjeh; and returned in time sufficient to attend the diván the following morning.

It has been conjectured that the grand vezír (now called the serdár or commander-in-chief), on his arrival at Adrianople, had removed Abulmiámin Mustafa Effendí from the office of the high priesthood, and had appointed Siná allah Effendí in his stead. His removal was entirely owing to the enmity and preconcerted measures of the late Kásim Páshá, and the emperor's chaplain.

Alí Páshá, the serdár or commander-in-chief, continued his march towards Belgrade; but a disease with which he had been afflicted was so very much increased by the late unhappy events which had distressed him, that his health declined considerably. The vexation he endured in consequence of the instalment of Háfiz Ahmed Páshá into the deputyship, preyed so much

on his spirits that by the time he reached Sophia, he was unable to take food or nourishment of any kind. He became worse and worse at every succeeding stage, and had scarcely reached Belgrade, and saluted Mohammed Páshá, the acting commander-in-chief, when he gave up the ghost. His death took place on the 28th of the month Sefer. Such is the history and end of Alí Yávuz Páshá grand vezír and commander-in-chief.

We must now advert to the history of the other commander-in-chief, Jeghala Zádeh Sinán Páshá, who was appointed to conduct the Moslem army against the Persians.

Jeghala Sinán Páshá was the oldest of all the beglerbegs when he was appointed to the chief command in the east: he was once, for a short time, grand vezír; afterwards válf of Syria; and lastly lord high admiral of the Ottoman fleet. This office he held at the moment when the government had fixed on him for taking the command of the forces employed against the Persians. He was, therefore, a person who was acquainted with the art of war, both by sea and land. It was in consequence of the high reputation which he had acquired, and of the knowlege which he possessed of the countries of the east, and in which he himself had served, that the late grand vezír had requested his appointment.

On the 16th of Dhu'l hijja he passed over to Scutari, as we have already observed; and on the 17th he commenced his march with such troops as were there waiting for him, and which were composed of various kinds. On reaching Nicomedia (in Bythinia) the feudatory troops which composed his right wing began to represent that they belonged, properly, to the army of Romeili, and asked if they were to be paid wages if they continued in conjunction with the army of Anatolia. A firman was immediately issued which assured them that they should. On arriving on the confines of Erzerúm, he was joined by the followers of the late Deli Hasan, along with their leader Karah Kash Ahmed, who all swore fealty to the Ottoman government, pretending at least to have repented of their misconduct and rebellion. In a few days more he was joined by several others, particularly by the beglerbeg of Erzerúm, Gusháh Sefer (a very brave man, and remarkably well skilled in horsemanship, who was raised to dignity and honour

from the humble situation of serving in the imperial kitchen) with four thousand men, well armed, whom he had collected in the greatest haste. The active Ahmed Páshá, beglerbeg of Wán, with three or four thousand veterans, met the grand army in the plains of Pas. On the 15th of Jemadi II., the whole of the Moslem army reached Kurus, when they halted for ten days, in order to give time for other troops to join the royal standard, and for the return of Karah Kash Ahmed, who had been sent out on a depre-datory excursion.

Sháh Abbás, when he heard of the advance of the Osmánlis, removed his troops from Reván and from Akcha Kalla, where they had been posted, and retreated. This information had no sooner reached the Moslem camp, than Sefer Páshá addressed the commander-in-chief for permission to advance with a party of veterans and intercept the sháh in his retreat. "His army was comparatively small," said Sefer, "and if you advance with the grand army in the ordinary way, to my support, I am not without hopes, if you agree to my proposal, of being able to bring the sháh bound in fetters before you." Such was the heroic language of Sefer Páshá, but the serdár was deaf to all his entreaties. He pretended to be waiting for the arrival of Karah Kash; and even when Karah Kash did arrive, he was as far as ever from complying with Sefer Páshá's proposal. Thus, by delay and hesitation, the enemy was not only allowed to withdraw to a greater distance, but had time afforded them for preparing to offer a more formidable resistance; whilst the grand army by this procedure, was exposed to greater danger, to more difficulties, and to a less chance of success.

The commander-in-chief was indeed at length roused to some activity; but it was only when he perceived the season for warlike operations fast passing away, without his having gained one single advantage, that he was thus roused. Without paying any regard to the councils of Sefer Páshá, which might have been attended with glorious results, had he allowed himself to be swayed by them, he again commenced his march in pursuit of the retreating enemy, and even sent letters to the sháh offering him battle, but the wary sháh paid no regard to his invitations. By the time the grand army reached Nakhcheván, the sháh and his army had safely got into the jurisdiction of Tabriz. The commander-in-chief now saw his error, but it

was too late to correct it; and he was destined, in consequence of his own tardiness and want of skill, to become more pre-eminently the sport of fortune. The country round Nakhcheván had been, a little before, the theatre of rebellion and of devastation; and in consequence of this, the cities and villages were enduring the greatest calamity from famine, at the time the Moslem army arrived in Nakhcheván. The serdár, when he perceived the dismal condition he and his army were in, proposed marching towards Shirván, where his son, Mahmúd Páshá, was beglerbeg. The chiefs of the army appeared before the serdár, and told him he might do what he liked, and take what journey he pleased, but the heretics were not to be overtaken. It was quite impracticable, they said, to follow them with a large army; nor would it prove any advantage, they further observed, to march against Tabriz and lay siege to it. The season for retiring into winter-quarters was just at hand, and they therefore thought it would be more prudent to return to their own country. The serdár was totally averse to this proposal, and endeavoured to dissuade them from urging this measure. He did so by representing to them how desirable it was to terminate the campaign honourably; that there still remained a chance of their succeeding; and that it would be much more wise, under all circumstances, to take up their winter-quarters in Gunjah and in Karabágh, than to return to Turkey before they had accomplished something worthy of their name. This speech had the desired effect: the troops struck their tents, and marched forward towards Tabriz. After having passed the river Ars, and accomplished a few stages, they learned that they were within a stage or two of coming up with the sháh, who was retreating with all his might before them. Sefer Páshá, Ahmed Páshá, beglerbeg of Sívás, and Alasha Atlí Hasan Páshá, earnestly implored the commander-in-chief to be allowed to proceed with a body of light troops and overtake the sháh, but he again refused to grant them their request, and maintained his usual obstinacy. On reaching Wán, he distributed his troops into different cantonments, but he himself remained at Wán for the winter. The more discerning of the troops, it must be observed, however, opposed the serdár, and endeavoured to dissuade him from disbanding his army, but their efforts were all in vain. They represented to him that the steps he was about to take were altogether



inconsistent with the general safety; and for a commander-in-chief to winter on the frontiers, without any army, might be very aptly compared, they said, "to a head without hands or feet." Moreover, they maintained that the thing was altogether unprecedented. The serdár, as we have already observed, continued inflexible; took up his quarters in Wán, and conferred the government of the country on Ahmed Páshá. Ahmed Páshá being indisposed when this appointment took place, the serdár sent his chief physician to perform the duties of the new governor, and finally conferred the situation on Ali Páshá.

In the meantime, however, the serdár found means to conciliate the Kurdistán chiefs, and called them together to the city of Wán, with the view of consulting them about his affairs and the state of things in general. But the sháh no sooner learned that the serdár had dispersed his army than he collected together his detestable and diabolical heretics, with the intention of attacking Wán. He accordingly despatched a division of these atheists towards Wán, whilst he himself, under covert of the night, followed that division with the whole of his disposable forces, and took up his position before Wán, but at such a distance that no cannon could reach him. At daylight on the following morning the unfortunate and infatuated serdár had his eyes opened to the very critical and hazardous situation into which his obstinacy had brought him. He tried to make the best of it he could. He assembled all the Kurds and others that were in Wán together, and deputed one Rázieh Zâdeh Mustafa to take the command of them. Mustafa and his troops made a sortie, but they found the heretics too numerous for them and returned. Khundán Aghá and his two sons were unfortunately taken prisoners by the Kuzil báshes on the above occasion.

The serdár was now heartily sorry, and well he might, for the steps he had taken. He repented most sincerely that he had remained at Wán, but his repentance was too late to avail him. After deeply considering what method he should take to save his own life, he resolved on trying to make his escape to Erzerúm. He accordingly took ship at Wán, and landed at a place called Adaljuwaz. Losing no time at this place, he hastened with all the speed he could make towards Erzerúm, having been furnished with horses for his journey by Emir Sháh, the governor and other officers

at Adaljuwaz. On arriving within a short distance of Erzerúm, the beglerbeg of Erzerúm, Gusah Sefer Páshá, went out to meet him, taking along with him an equipage more suitable to the dignity of the commander-in-chief than that with which he had travelled from Adaljuwaz.

The sháh, even after he had heard of the sudden departure of the serdár, ceased not in his endeavours to reduce the city and fortress of Wán for the space of forty days, but was at last obliged to raise the siege, and then marched towards Tabríz and Nakhcheván. On this march, however, he surrounded an Osmánli place of strength called Makú; but all he gained by laying siege to this fortress was only disgrace.

Before concluding this long section it is necessary to observe, in connection with what we have related with regard to Jeghala Zádeh\* Sinán Páshá, the commander-in-chief, that at the time the command of the forces in the east devolved upon him, or at least not long after it, Ja'fer Páshá was appointed lord high admiral in room of Jeghala; and that he sailed for the Mediterranean with sixty galleys. In some histories it is said, that it was the admiral Kehyah Páshá Zádeh Mustafa Páshá who was appointed to the deputyship of Constantinople at the time Alí Páshá and Jeghala Zádeh were made commanders-in-chief.

*Lálá Mohammed Páshá succeeds Alí Páshá in all his offices.*

After the death of the grand vezír, Alí Páshá, which event had taken place at Belgrade almost immediately after his arrival there, as we have already noticed, a kapújí báshí of the name of Kúrd Mustafa Páshá, brought accounts, in a sealed packet, to the government of Constantinople that Alí Páshá was no more. The officer presented them to the káimakám, Háfez Páshá, who, however, declined receiving them. Hereupon the emperor's chaplain called the officer to the royal palace, in order that it might be ascertained to whom it belonged to receive the packet. He complained that Háfez Páshá refused to have any thing to do with the packet, though he knew it was an official despatch, whilst at the same time it was evident that the forces employed against the Hungarians were in the utmost need of having a commanding general appointed over them. It would appear, however, that before the accounts referred to had arrived, Lálá

Mohammed Páshá had been raised by royal appointment to the chief command of the army, but that the commission had not reached him in sufficient time. He was now raised to the dignity of grand vezír.

Lálá Mohammed Páshá no sooner found himself raised to the highest offices which could be conferred on him, than he began with all imaginable speed to make arrangements for renewing hostilities, succeeded in taking several Hungarian towns, and afterwards returned with the body of his army to Buda.

Having formed the design of recovering Osterghún, in order to secure success as much as possible, he conferred on Bektásh Páshá, of Usk, the jurisdiction of Buda, appointed him to the advanced guard, which was composed of three thousand chosen men, and ordered him to march towards the last-mentioned place.

*The infidels abandon Pest.*

A report having been circulated that Lálá Mohammed Páshá, the celebrated commander of the Moslem army, was advancing on his march from Belgrade, the infidels who garrisoned Pest, which they had wrested from the Moslems in consequence of the weakness and pusillanimity of Yemishjí Hasan Páshá, the former commander-in-chief, fled in the utmost precipitation, leaving, in fact, the whole of their arms of all kinds behind them. Such was the panic into which they were thrown by the fame of Lálá Mohammed Páshá, of whose heroism they had some knowledge. Their flight was a sufficient proof of the estimation in which they held his military talents.

When the new serdár, Lálá Mohammed Páshá, heard that the enemy had abandoned Pest, he crossed the Danube and took possession of it. The hateful infidels, with the view of totally destroying it, it is necessary to observe, had left the place exposed to the destructive effect of several mines which they had prepared for that purpose, and which, had they not been discovered in sufficient time, would certainly have buried the whole place, and all that was in it, in ruins. Fortunately for the inhabitants, as well as for the Moslem troops who had entered it, a sick soldier, who had been left behind in Pest, had given a hint to the conquerors of

the mines referred to, which were almost on the point of ignition at the moment they were discovered. This very remarkable deliverance from so very terrible and inevitable a ruin was properly and religiously improved by the orthodox faithful from the highest to the lowest.

The commander-in-chief made arrangements for repairing and fortifying Pest; also for rebuilding the tower of Ján Kúrturán, and supplied both places with a sufficient number of troops and a proper quantity of provisions. The victorious troops of Lálá Mohammed Páshá entered Buda a little after the commencement of Rabia II., and immediately afterwards the bridge which had extended between Pest and Buda, but which had been cut down by the hatchets of the infidels, was again ordered to be rebuilt according to its former model.

The Moslem veterans were also agreeably surprised to learn that a similar terror with that which had seized the infidels at Pest, had also overtaken the infidels at Khutwán, and had produced a similar result. The injuries which the houses of the faithful had sustained in both places, either by burning or otherwise, were ordered to be repaired.

*The fortress of Wáj conquered.*

The celebrated serdár, Lálá Mohammed Páshá, now proceeded to reduce Wáj, which for the space of two years had been under the complete sway of the infidels, and encamped at Eskí Buda (Old Buda), immediately opposite to Wáj. By means of boats he conveyed across the Danube his troops, and on the 21st of Jemadi II. Wáj was besieged on all sides. The infidels in this fortress thinking, however, that they were about to be visited by retributive justice, put on an appearance of fortitude, though, as will appear, they were totally overcome by terror. On the very first night of the siege they contrived secretly to set fire to a tower and a palanka in the island opposite to Wáj, took to their boats, and set off, about the middle of the night, for Osterghún. The Moslems, of course, took possession of Wáj.

*Osterghún is laid siege to.*

The victorious Moslems, the terror of whose arms spread dismay among the infidels, marched upon Osterghún, and on the 23d of Jemadi II. formed

the siege of that place. Every gun and musket throughout the whole army were put in requisition, and every arrangement was made for commencing hostilities; but, alas, the constant fall of snow and rain, the winter season having commenced, rendered it impracticable for the troops to make any use of trenches, or at least they found it difficult to stand in them. The truth seems to be, that too much time had been taken up in repairing and attending to the lately retaken fortresses, Pest, Khutwán, and Wáj, and also with the rebuilding of the bridge formerly mentioned, to be able, at so late a period of the year, to carry on the siege of Osterghún with any great prospect of success.

In consequence of the length of time the Moslems spent unnecessarily with the fortresses they had retaken, as just observed, the infidels found ample opportunity to erect tabúrs or fortifications on the opposite bank of the river, and to extend a bridge from Osterghún to these fortifications. The whole line of these tabúrs were also protected by a range of field-pieces, and every thing, in fact, presented a most formidable appearance. For several successive nights the enemy rushed forth upon the Moslems, attacked them with the utmost celerity, and succeeded in killing many of their bravest heroes.

When it was resolved to augment the number of Moslems who were actually engaged in endeavouring to reduce Osterghún (*i. e.* those who were immediately engaged in active operations against it), the janissaries refused to comply, and urgently demanded that the siege should be raised. The commander-in-chief perceiving himself involved in difficulties of no ordinary kind, ordered Toktamish Gherái, the son of his royal highness Ghází Gherái, who had that year joined the royal camp instead of his royal father, to go, with a few thousands of his Tátárs, along with Hasan Páshá, beglerbeg of Roméili, and some of his troops, and scour the country round about, commit all the damage to the enemy they could, and take what spoil they could find.

The commander-in-chief, after a period of thirty-one days uselessly spent in endeavouring to reconquer Osterghún, was obliged to raise the siege and return to Buda. Having made the necessary arrangements with regard to the garrisons on the frontiers, for protecting the Ottoman dominions in that

quarter, the commander-in-chief set out for Belgrade, and arrived there on the 3d of Rajab.

The stipulated period of the old pretorian band in Buda for serving having expired, one thousand of them were again hired, and divided into four companies.

We have still to add, by way of appendix, what Petchevlí says in reference to the siege of Osterghún, which we have been describing. "Nukásh Hasan Páshá acted at the above siege," he says, "as ághá of the janissaries, but he was so cowardly that he never once showed his face where he anticipated danger. For this dereliction of duty and disgraceful pusillanimity, the commander-in-chief deprived him of his office, and degraded him. He afterwards, however, sent a petition to the court of Constantinople, requesting to have the judgment of the serdár reversed, but his petition was regarded with contempt."

The same historian observes, "that formerly, when Ibrahim Páshá was commander-in-chief, the Tátárs, emirs, and other great men under his command, had proposed to exchange Osterghún for Agria; because the latter was much more distant from Buda than the former, and therefore not of such importance to the Ottomans." When Mohammed Ketkhodá, vezír Murád Páshá, Ahmed Aghá, the khán's vezír, and Hábel Effendí, the cazí of Buda, went to the enemy's camp, as the reader may remember, with the view of endeavouring to negotiate a peace between the two belligerent powers, the proposals above-mentioned were the principal subjects submitted to the consideration of the negotiators; but no settlement of any kind at that time was agreed to, and things remained as they had been until this period, when the infidels began to show a disposition favourable to a cessation of hostilities. Accordingly, ten counts, ornamented with golden chains, and the great ministers of state, arrived (probably at Belgrade), and gave their consent to the propositions above alluded to, and Petchevlí Ibrahim Effendí, whose sentiments we are here quoting, was sent to the Sublime Porte as the bearer of the propositions for a general pacification. Petchevlí, on arriving at Constantinople, presented his dispatches to the káimákám, and to the reverend mufti, the venerable Siná-allah Effendí. Siná-allah Effendí appeared greatly surprised at the nature and

import of the propositions which had been thus submitted; and exclaimed, "that they were such as could never be agreed to; that they were altogether unfit to be expressed in words; that they were unworthy of ever having been thought of," he therefore rejected them with scorn, and ordered the officer who had brought them to retrace his steps, and deliver this answer. The messenger obeyed, and met the commander-in-chief in the plains of Serim; who having anticipated the result of his mission, and without allowing him time to tell the message wherewith he was charged, replied abruptly, "we must bear the disgrace;" and, immediately, without any further reference to the subject, began to call the messenger's attention to the recent appearance of Botchkai, one of the Transylvanian princes, to whose exploits our attention must now be turned.

*Concerning Botchkai.*

The Germans are of the race of infidels or unbelievers, and a distinct and peculiar sect of Christians, who are divided among themselves. The principal chief or head of these different tribes of Christians, as they may be denominated, has the titles of emperor and Cæsar. The dukes of Austria and of Hungary are of the race of the emperor. The Nemchek, or German nation, having acquired a superiority over the rest, subverted the whole or most of the fortresses belonging to Ardil (Transylvania) and Mejár (Hungary), and have all along, ever since, exercised towards these two tribes every species of oppression and tyranny. The Hungarian and Transylvanian natives, as well as their nobles, in consequence of the humiliating and degrading subjection to which the German tribe had reduced them, were obliged, of course, to feign submission to their oppressors; but cherished in their minds, nevertheless, the most unquenchable hatred and enmity. The Germans, ever since the time they had acquired dominion over these two nations, manifested the utmost contempt towards them, but especially towards the former. To the princes and nobles of Mejár (Hungary) they showed less courtesy and respect than they did to even the vilest and lowest among themselves, and made them the objects of many indignities and of low reproach: yet the ancient Hungarians, unlike their degenerate sons, often repelled the aggressions of their German



neighbours with evident advantages, and maintained many a bloody battle with them.

Things continued much in the same way as we have endeavoured to describe, till Botchkai, one of the Hungarian princes, a brave and heroic infidel, called together the branches of his family, to whom he addressed himself thus: "How long are we patiently to submit to the reproach, as well as oppression and tyranny, resulting from a disgraceful subjection to these Germans? Thank God, the Ottoman emperors have always proved our generous friends. King John took refuge under the wings of the emperor Soleimán, and the royal dignity was maintained so long as one of his children and grandchildren remained to fill the throne of Hungary. Let us follow the heroic example of our ancestor; and when we are once supported by the strong arm of the Turks, we shall then be able to take ample vengeance on our oppressors." This sentiment Botchkai urged with all the warmth and zeal he was able to put forth, and his speech had the desired effect. They unanimously agreed to put themselves under the sheltering power of the Ottomans; elected Botchkai to the dignity and prerogatives of a king, and appointed him their commander-in-chief. Immediately, or at least as soon as they found it convenient, and that was about the middle of this present year, they wrote letters to the Moslem general, wherein they made a formal offer to put themselves under the protection of the Moslem government; that they would be friends to those who were friendly to it, and enemies to those who were its enemies; that they agreed to serve the emperor of the Ottomans; and that they were ready to draw their swords against their German oppressors at his bidding; and requested, moreover, the serdár, as soon as he knew their sentiments, to make them known to the Moslem government at Constantinople.

The court of Constantinople, on being put in possession of the documents relative to the earnest wishes of the Hungarians, not only acquiesced in their solicitations, but also sent the most positive instructions to the commanding general to enter into an immediate engagement with the petitioners, and to assure them of the aid and protection of his government. The commanding general lost no time in communicating to Botchkai and his associates the views of the Sublime Porte, which had the effect not only of

confirming them in their hatred and enmity towards the Germans, but also of encreasing, day after day, the number of their followers.

*A battle fought between the Germans and the Hungarians.*

On the 27th of Jemadi II. these two sorts of infidels (*i. e.* the Germans and Hungarians) met, and fought a tremendous battle, in which Botchkai, supported by Ottoman arms, was completely victorious. More than ten thousand Germans fell on the field of battle, and their heads, besides a number of prisoners and several standards, he transmitted to the Moslem royal camp. The Moslem general eulogized the Hungarian hero for his uncommon bravery, and sent him a sword and a robe of honour as tokens of his high esteem for him, which, of course, had the effect of stimulating him in his career to greater deeds of valour. Warad, which had been wrested from the Hungarians, and which Satúrji Mohammed Páshá had endeavoured in vain to reconquer, as before observed, fell into the hands of Botchkai, who put every infidel German he found in it to the sword. He dispersed or overcame with immense loss to the enemy every army the Germans brought to oppose him. He reduced the city and fortress of Tokay; subdued Wakasha, and took several German provinces; and in a very short period, the greater portion of Hungary fell under his dominion. Still bent on further conquest, Botchkai sent a number of princes he had taken prisoners, and also some splendid presents, to the Moslem general, accompanied by letters requesting further aid against the Germans; in compliance with which request, the Moslem commander ordered four thousand Tátárs under the command of a nephew of Toktamish Gherái to accompany Bektásh Páshá, and a portion of the feudatory troops under him, to his assistance. On the same occasion, or soon afterwards, a diploma for exercising regal authority over Transylvania, a robe of honour, some ammunition and standards were also sent him on the part of the Ottoman government.

The rise and exploits of Botchkai are, however, differently related. Petchevli says, that the former emir, with whom Botchkai had been conjoined, was taken prisoner by the infidels, the Germans, but had made his escape. One day, as he was dressing his garden, Botchkai began to converse with the ex-emir about the Germans, when the other replied:

"Send me to the Ottoman general, and I promise you I will bring the whole of the Moslem army to your assistance; and, moreover, I pledge myself to get you made king of Transylvania."

The speaker, it may be observed in passing, had himself some thoughts of throwing off the German yoke some time before this, and it was for a rumour of this kind which had reached the ear of the emperor of Austria that he had been imprisoned; but as no sufficient evidence of this his intention had been produced, he was set at liberty. But to return. Botchkai replied that the inhabitants of the country were in general Christians, and would not on that very account humble themselves so far as to put themselves under the Turks. "Why," said the ex-emir, "they did so in the days of Soleimán, and it was well with them. Why not do it at this time?" After having conversed for some time on this subject, Botchkai yielded to the advice of his adviser and sent him to the vezír; who was introduced to his excellency by Mohammed Páshá's nephew, at that time interpreter to Bektásh Páshá. He spent a few days in secret consultation with his excellency, to whom he explained the object of his mission, and then returned. But it was not till after three or four such interviews were held and a contract entered into, that Botchkai unfurled the standard of rebellion against the emperor of Austria. It was not, moreover, till Botchkai had completely subdued the whole of the German fortresses on both sides of the river Tise (Tibiscus), that he came forward to seek that aid from the Muselmans which, no doubt, had been promised him.

The emperor of Austria was no sooner apprized of Botchkai's revolt, than he sent a person of the name of Báshtái Yúrkí with German forces to chastise the rebel; but the former were totally defeated in the very first engagement. Botchkai, in the meantime, having received a reinforcement of Tátár and Temiswar troops from the grand vezír, his courage was amazingly increased, and he followed up his victory with rapidity and zeal. Every town and village which owned subjection to the German despot he exposed to all the horrors of war and rapine, and returned with immense booty, and joined the Moslem army in the capacity of a vassal of the Ottoman empire.

The promise which the vezír had made to obtain for him the royalty of Hungary (not of Transylvania, as before mentioned) he also punctually fulfilled after he returned to Constantinople, as we shall afterwards see. Guzelchéh Mahmúd Páshá, who, in consequence of the part he had acted in the tumult which had taken place in the affair of Yemishjí Hasan Páshá, as formerly mentioned, had fled in disguise, and had lived all this interval in a sort of monastery or cell belonging to some Súfis, received his majesty's pardon, was raised to the dignity of his former vezírship, and afterwards married Ayesha Sultána, the widow of the late Yemishjí Hasan Páshá, for whom he paid a dowry of four thousand akchas (pieces of money).

*Concerning the defeat of Kásim Páshá.*

We noticed some time ago, that Kásim Páshá, on the 22d of Rabia II., had been appointed to the government of Baghdád. We referred particularly also to his conduct towards Alí Páshá, and to the tyranny and oppression he had exercised at Scutari. In the neighbourhood of Brúsa, whither he had gone after leaving, or rather after he was obliged to leave Scutari, he committed the same kind of shameless excesses he had been guilty of in other places. Complaints against his cruelty and tyranny having been laid before the emperor, a bostánjí báhí was forthwith dispatched with orders to cut him off, but who was so overawed by the páshá that he had not the resolution to fulfil his mission. The grand vezír, because he did not obey the order of government, removed the bostánjí báhí from his office, and appointed Dervish Aghá, ketkhodá of the bostánjis, in his stead. This is the same Dervish Aghá who afterwards obtained a near access to the emperor's ear, and was made páshá for the important services he had rendered to the state. But to proceed. Kásim Páshá not only escaped the snare which had been laid for him, and the death he ought to have suffered, but was actually appointed to the government of Kutahia. Here he also manifested a spirit of carelessness and indifference, which eventually entailed upon him the punishment which had formerly been meditated against him. In order, however, to make sure of this, it was considered wise to send him a royal letter appointing him to the deputyship of Constan-

tinople, in room of Hâfez Pâshâ, and an invitation to him to return and take possession of that office. Confiding in the royal letter Kâsim returned to Constantinople, and was hardly one day in office, when he received three royal communications on important affairs, which, at oncé, had the effect of clearing away all doubt from his mind as to his being firmly fixed in the deputyship. This being the case, as he believed, he that very day appointed his predecessor Hâfez Pâshâ, third vezîr. Ibrahîm Aghâ he made master of the horse, and Mîm Ibrahîm his remembrancer. About suppertime Chobân Soleimân, chief of the royal messengers, waited upon the new deputy, and informed him that on the following morning a council was to be held in the royal presence; and also that the emperor's chaplain, the mufti, the vezîrs, and other magnates of the state, had all been invited to attend. Accordingly, at day-break next morning Kâsim Pâshâ proceeded to the divân with great pomp and ceremony. On entering into the royal presence, and before all who were present, he advanced towards the emperor and did obeisance. The emperor, without any sort of preamble, began immediately to question him with respect to his conduct in neglecting to obey his royal mandates on more occasions than one. Kâsim was confounded, and could find nothing to say in reply: to vindicate himself was impossible. The emperor then turned to the high-priest and consulted with him as to the nature of the guilt and crime with which Kâsim stood chargeable, and from which he could in no way clear himself, when the reverend prelate gave it forth as his verdict, that Kâsim should be put to death. This sentence had scarcely been pronounced, when, on a signal having been given, in rushed a number of bostanjîs, who instantly severed Kâsim Pâshâ's head from his body. His carcass, by imperial orders, was carried in a dray and thrown into a ditch before the gates of Adrianople. Thus ended the eventful life of this ambitious and turbulent pâshâ.

*Sârukî Mustafa Pâshâ is made deputy of Constantinople.—Other promotions take place.*

Immediately after Kâsim Pâshâ was dispatched, as we have just now related, the emperor of sublime dignity and glory turned to Sârukî Mustafa Pâshâ, and appointed him to the deputyship or kâimakâmship of Constan-

tinople, saying, in the presence of the whole council, that if he should be found guilty of any maladministration, he should deal with him as he had done to him that was lying before him—pointing to the body of Kásim Páshá—and thus warned him of his danger. After this solemn address to the new deputy the council broke up, and every one went to his own house.

The new deputy, Sárukjí Mustafa Páshá, began his administration by effecting various changes in the different departments of the palace. Gúrjí Mohammed Páshá, chief eunuch in the royal harem, he raised to the dignity of third vezír; who, in consequence of this promotion, had it in his power to advance and befriend his own friends. Dávud Páshá, chief of the kapújís, and Mustafa Aghá, grand master of the horse, were, in about a week or two afterwards, exalted to the dignity of vezírs, and were married to two of Sultán Mohammed Khán's daughters. Nukásh Hasan Aghá, who had been deposed from the command of the janissaries for his pusillanimity, came to Islambol, where his friends had interested themselves in his favour. He was created beglerbeg of Romeili, and soon afterwards was raised to the dignity of vezír. This deputy, amongst his other acts of administration, secured above a million of money to the royal treasury; and, in fact, every person wondered at the changes and alterations he had effected.

Towards the end of Jemadí II. a messenger arrived from Egypt, bringing to the court of Constantinople the sad intelligence that the Egyptian troops had murdered Hájí Ibrahim Páshá. The eunuch, Gúrjí Mohammed Páshá, who had lately been raised to the rank of *third* vezír, was appointed váli of Egypt in the room of the deceased. The galley in which the new váli had embarked reached the port of Alexandria in one week's time; and after having entered upon the government of Egypt, he put to death every individual of those who had been in any way involved in the tumult in which his predecessor had perished. By force of arms he established peace throughout the whole of his jurisdiction, attended to the state of the finances, and inspired all ranks with terror.

On the 25th of Rajab the váli of Romeili, Hasan Páshá, was advanced to the rank of fourth vezír; Hasan Aghá, the brother of Tarnákjí Páshá,

was, in the same month, made commander of the janissaries. The government of Algiers was conferred on Mustafa Aghá, who had been chief of the eunuchs in the days of Selim II.

*Sárukjí Mustafa Páshá is murdered.—Súfi Sinán succeeds him.*

It was not very long after Sárukjí Mustafa Páshá had entered on the duties of his office as deputy of Constantinople, when some violence began to be manifested by the troops on account of the pay which was due to them. Whilst the lord high treasurer, Mohammed Páshá, son of Músa Chelebí, was straining every nerve to meet the demands of the military, some of his enemies had an interview with the emperor's chaplain, who lodged accusations with his excellency the deputy against him. The deputy, not perceiving the evil that was soon to happen to himself, deposed him and appointed one Háfez Mahmúd to succeed him; a man who was every way unfit for so high and important a situation as that of chief treasurer, and one, too, whom the emperor abhorred. The deputy's infatuation did not stop here; he endeavoured, with all his might, to get Siná-allah Effendí, the reverend mufti, removed from his spiritual jurisdiction, and to place Mohammed Effendí, the eldest son of Khojeh, in his stead. The reverend mufti no sooner received intelligence of the deputy's manœuvres, than he immediately entered, with the emperor's chaplain, into a conspiracy against the life of Sárukjí Páshá. They used every means they could think of to blacken his character in the opinion of the emperor, and succeeded but too well in exciting his displeasure against him. One day, as he went on some business connected with his office to the royal palace, he was desired to wait on his majesty; but on his retiring he was seized, an executioner was called, and in an instant his head was cut off. His body was thrown into a well in the court of the diván,\* and Súfi Sinán Páshá was appointed kálmakám in his stead.

Gúzelchek Mahmúd Páshá, who had been restored to favour and was raised to a vezirship, again fell under his majesty's displeasure, and was degraded. This took place on the 12th of the *first* Rabia, and Nesúh

\* Thus did his majesty verify his threatening to Sárukjí Páshá, when, after appointing him to the deputyship, he pointed to the dead carcass of Kásim Páshá.



Páshá, who had been removed from the government of Aleppo, was appointed to succeed him in the vezírship, and also to the command of the army employed in Anatolia in quelling the rebellion in that quarter. On the 2d of Dhu'l kadah, Nukásh Hasan Páshá, beglerbeg of Romeili, reached the rank and dignity of vezír, and Tarú Hasan Páshá was confirmed in the above government.

*The emperor goes to hunt.—Sultán Osmán Khán is born.*

The emperor, who was exceedingly fond of the chace, went out with his friends and great men on the 11th of Jemadi II., *i. e.* on the 24th of Teshrín evel (a Syro-macedonian month, October), to enjoy the pleasures of the châce in the country round about the gardens of Romeili, in the vicinity of Constantinople.

During the time the grand sultán was enjoying the pleasures which the chace afforded him, the ághá of the royal house arrived and announced to his majesty the joyful intelligence of the birth of a son, which filled every heart with the sincerest joy. When the young prince was afterwards named Sultán Osmán, seven days and seven nights were dedicated, by an imperial firmán, to rejoicings. On the 17th of Shevál, which was the 26th of Shubat (a Syro-macedonian month corresponding to February), Sultán Mohammed was also born to him.

*The grand vezír, Lálá Mohammed Páshá, returns to Constantinople.*

We lately left Lálá Mohammed Páshá, the reader will remember, at Belgrade. From this frontier city he was suddenly recalled to court, and reached the Sublime Porte on the 20th of Ramazán, when his majesty condescended to show him very many expressions of kindness and respect. On the 20th of Shabán, Káfzádeh Feizallah Effendí was translated from the jurisdiction of Anatolia and made military judge of Romeili, being succeeded in Anatolia by Yehiá Effendí of Constantinople. About the end of the month of Dhu'l hijja Káfzádeh Effendí, at the request of the grand vezír, was degraded, and Yehiá Effendí was made military judge in his room. Kemál Effendí succeeded to the jurisdiction of Anatolia. Fatimah, the daughter of Sultán Murád Khán, and the widow of Khalíl Páshá, was

contracted in marriage to vezír Murád Páshá, who commanded on the banks of the Danube, and who was recalled to Constantinople.

*Continuation of the affairs in the East.*

The state of matters in the eastern provinces became every day more desperate. Kalander Oghlí and Karah Seyed, two notorious rebels, laid waste the whole of the country round Aidín and Sarúkhán, perpetrating every excess and committing every evil they were able against the followers of Mohammed. In one quarter Túyel Khalíl, and one Sachli in another, created, by their cruelties, alarm and terror in almost every district throughout Anatolia. In consequence of these very awful disasters, inflicted by bands of ruthless barbarians, letters from all quarters flowed into the government, beseeching it for aid and protection against these lawless and merciless hordes. The káimakám, Súfi Sinán Páshá, taking the matter into earnest consideration, waited one day on his imperial majesty, and insisted with him, in the most urgent manner, that one of the vezírs should be appointed commander-in-chief of the army in Anatolia. His majesty, in the presence of the whole of his nobles, appointed Dávud Páshá, and urged him to make no delay. Dávud Páshá, however, excused himself, but afterwards began to make preparations. In the meantime Kejdehán Ali Páshá, beglerbeg of Anatolia, was ordered to proceed with the whole of the provincial army of Anatolia, and join Jeghala Zádeh, the commander-in-chief in the east. He was further ordered to unite in his march with Nesúh Páshá, who protected the frontiers; and both were ordered to march together with their respective armies, and overthrow the rebels, whose excesses were become altogether without limits. Kejdehán Ali Páshá proceeded according to orders; attached his troops to those of Nesúh Páshá, and marched together to meet the rebels under Túyel, who had conquered the greater part of Caramania and Anatolia. This rebel army they met in the plains of Bolawadin; but the result of the meeting of these two hostile armies we must defer relating till we enter on the affairs of the following year, which we shall immediately commence.

## EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1014, H.

It having been considered of the last importance to ascertain the actual state of the Hungarian frontiers, Mohammed Páshá was granted full power over the troops, and to employ them in any way he thought proper. It was also the emperor's declared determination and wish that Osterghún should be reconquered from the enemy if possible. With this view Hasan Aghá, Tarnákji's brother, and ághá of the janissaries, was appointed to proceed with a large body of janissaries to Belgrade, and afterwards join the commander-in-chief at Buda. This body of troops left Constantinople on the 27th of Dhu'l hijja, and halted at Dávud Páshá for the purpose of making some further arrangements for the journey. Abdul Báki Effendí was appointed treasurer to the army; Etmekji Zádeh had been sent to Romefli to collect the taxes; Súfi Sinán Páshá having been in full power, and deputy of the Sublime Porte, sent Dávud Páshá to command the garrison of Kostamúni; and Nesúh Páshá was made commander in Anatolia, and appointed to protect the Ottoman boundaries in that quarter.

Hasan Aghá, after having remained a week at Dávud Páshá, recommenced his march towards Belgrade, which place he reached about the latter end of the month Sefer. Having refreshed his troops and attended to the other necessary preparations for prosecuting his march to Buda, he left Belgrade and passed the plains of Zimún for that fortress on the 4th of Rabia II. The whole army assembled at Usk, where a council of war was held. The commander-in-chief proposed for the consultation of the counsellors, what measure ought first to be adopted for securing the desired success? The borderers and several of the chiefs of the army thought it was by all means most advisable to proceed directly to Buda and Alba Julia, and check the progress of the enemy in those quarters, or at least protect them against any assault which the enemy might threaten. Information had already arrived, they said, which fully announced the threatening aspect the enemy was assuming with regard to both these places. The enemy, they were aware, was making every preparation in Komran for renewing hostilities, and already had acquired some success. It was their imperative duty, continued the speakers, to march immediately to

Buda and Alba Julia, and protect these places against the enemy of their country and of their faith. Such were the arguments employed on one side of the question. Others, however, opposed them, and argued differently. They, in the weakness of their judgment, maintained that Buda and Alba Julia were places of strength, and well furnished with the means of self-defence; so much so, indeed, they said, that the enemy had given up all hope of succeeding against them. These two places, the objects of so much concern and anxiety, therefore, might very well, and without any danger, they maintained, be left to their own resources. But there is Mekamúriah, said these trifling advocates. It presented a fine field for enriching the army: the inhabitants were in a state of quietness, and no way in a capacity to offer resistance: they were rich. Let, therefore, the army, reiterated these orators, march into Mekamúriah without delay.

This motion was vigorously opposed by the opposite party, and many arguments were adduced to show the danger that would arise if adopted and acted upon: but the majority of the council was in favour of it; and for no other reason, but that it promised to satisfy their thirst for wealth. The commander-in-chief yielded to the majority, ordered the janissaries to proceed towards Kaniza, not very distant from which lay the country of Mekamúriah, and resolved on following them, on the next day, with the body of the grand army acting under his command.

Having given his orders he waited on the venerable cazí who accompanied the camp, Ahmed Effendí, and informed him of the resolution the council had adopted, and requested him to give his opinion. The reverend prelate expressed, in no unmeasured terms, his entire disapprobation of that resolution. "It is no mark of sound judgment," said the venerable man, "to adopt a method which leaves in our rear the enemy watching our movements, whilst we are pursuing an uncertain object from motives of ambition. Moreover, it is entirely contrary to the will of the emperor, who expressly declared that it was his utmost wish that we should, in the first instance, attempt the reduction of Osterghún. Having had, therefore, the emperor's mind on the subject, it is as clear as day that nothing could be more improper than to pursue the plan which has been adopted, and, in part, acted upon. If, in prosecuting your present plan, so

much as one village belonging to the Ottoman empire should fall into the hands of the enemy, you will find yourself at a loss to give any satisfactory answer when you happen to be interrogated on that point. I would observe, moreover, that only about eighty days remain for continuing this campaign, and that should you, in pursuance of the resolution of the council, follow the course which promises to enrich the soldiery, no less than twenty or thirty days will be necessary for this purpose. The soldiery, bent on acquiring spoil, will pay no regard to your commands when once they are let loose after plunder. They will become disunited and scattered; neither can you expect that this year you will ever induce them again to act as a regular military force. If, in these circumstances, the enemy should commence their hostile movements, with whom, let me ask you, will you march to meet them? What preparations can you effect? What aid can you command? Now, however, that you have time and troops at command, turn your thoughts towards Osterghún, and endeavour at least to fulfil the emperor's express desire. If you attend to this advice, though you should even fail in the attempt, you are sure to escape reproach." The clear and cogent mode of the worthy prelate's reasoning made a very deep impression on the mind of the commanding general; in short, he was like one awakened from sleep. The arguments of the priest carried irresistible conviction, and the general was no longer in doubt as to the line of conduct he ought to pursue. He immediately resolved on proceeding to Buda, countermanded the march of the janissaries, who by that time had marched a stage on their way towards Kaniza, and made arrangements for laying siege to Osterghún.

The reverend priest acted in the transactions we have alluded to without the least fear of blame or reproach. His open and manly conduct, so utterly void of any thing like hypocrisy, was such as threw a glory and dignity around his sacred office and character, and secured him the high approbation of the vezír himself, and all others. Petchevli relates this account somewhat differently, and Káteb Chelebí, in his Fezliké, confirms his view of the matter, but it is of no importance to show wherein the two accounts differ.

The commanding general having resolved, as we have seen, on laying siege to Osterghún, the army commenced its march towards that place.

The beglerbeg of Bosnia, with the troops under his command, was ordered forward to Buda. Twenty-five pieces of artillery, thirty thousand balls, ten thousand talents of gunpowder and other ammunition were transported in boats towards the place which was soon destined to become the scene of action and of blood. The spáhís and janissaries, on reaching the plains of Mehaj, were all furnished with the weapons peculiar to each, and about the middle of Rabia II. the Moslem camp was pitched in the vicinity of Osterghún. On the same day, also, on which they had pitched their tents every disposition for commencing hostilities was quickly and promptly attended to. On one side of Osterghún was a high hill whereon stood a considerable castle; and it being probable that a secret way from it to the city might be discovered, by which much mischief to the besiegers might be avoided, Mustafa Páshá, beglerbeg of Buda, was ordered, with a body of troops, to assault this fortress or castle, called Dipadilin, which he did on all sides. Jegirdilin, another fortress or castle, in connection with Osterghún, and with which the Moslems had become well acquainted in a former siege, was also subjected to the operations of war. Vishégrade, situate somewhere on the Danube between Osterghún and Wáj, and which could easily prevent provisions or stores being transported by water to the aid of the Moslem army, was, after a short siege, allowed to capitulate. Khádem Khosrú Páshá, the beglerbeg of Bosnia, who commanded at the siege of Vishégrade, found the garrison was composed of those Franks whom the Pope had sent in aid of the Germans, as formerly mentioned, and who had been distributed into the different forts in the hands of the Austrians. Like their brethren, the Franks at Alba Julia, they entered voluntarily, and on similar terms, the service of the grand sultán. At the commencement of the siege their number amounted to more than a thousand, but most of them perished before they had agreed to capitulate.

We now return to Dipadilin. Vishégrade having been disposed of in the way now related, part of Khosrú Páshá's troops, and the Franks above-mentioned, were sent to join the troops employed under the beglerbeg of Buda against Dipadilin. This augmentation of force so terrified the besieged that they became discouraged; but the hearts and hands of the

Moslems were so mightily strengthened by it, that on the 6th of Jemadi II., the sixth day of the siege, after the hour of morning devotions, they fired off three large guns, and all at once rushed forward to a general assault. It so happened, by the providence of God, that the morning was very dark and hazy; so much so, indeed, that objects could hardly be seen at the shortest distance; and thus the Moslems entered the place before they were discovered. Not only this place, but, in short, every other between it and Osterghún, in the short space of this one day, fell into the hands of the Moslem conquerors. Not one of the infidels in any of these different places escaped with his life: more than four thousand, it was said, perished. The count, who commanded in Osterghún, came forth to stimulate and encourage the infidels to oppose the Moslems, but he never returned: his body was found among the slain. A number of troops, and a quantity of provisions and other stores, which had been advancing by the Danube to the aid of the Moslems, but which, on account of the infidels in Vishégrade, were hindered from reaching their destination, were at once, by the fall of that place, allowed to proceed. The troops on board, having received intimation from the commander who carried on the siege of Vishégrade, disembarked, took up their quarters in a small island, attacked those of the enemy who had been employed in menacing them whenever they offered to sail forward, and slew about two hundred of them. These and the other troops now joined their brethren who were set down before Osterghún itself, the downfall of which was the principal object in the Moslem army's taking the field this year.

*Osterghún set fire to.*

The janissaries having extended their trenches, on one side, to within a small distance of the city or suburbs, and as the cannon placed on the hill Dipadilin were kept constantly firing on the city and fortress, the commanding general, in pressing the siege, ordered the palanka of the city or suburbs to be set fire to. When the besieged perceived this palanka on fire many of them rushed forth and endeavoured to extinguish it, but not one of those who did so ever returned again.



*The city and fortress taken.*

On the 16th of *Jemádi II.* three successive general assaults were made, in the last of which the city was taken, and two thousand infidels that were found in it were immediately dispatched to the flames of hell. *Mustafa Páshá*, who had vanquished *Dipadilin*, was sent to reduce a tower called the Water Tower; which he did completely. On the 10th day, after taking possession of the city or suburbs, another assault was announced to the troops, who prepared for the onset. The enemy's troops within the fortress perceiving with what determined perseverance the besiegers were animated, and fully convinced they should not be able to resist an assault, if it were attempted, but which they had every reason to anticipate, they, in this hopeless condition, offered to capitulate. When this proposal of the besieged was announced to the commanding general, he sent his confidant *Petchevli Ibrahim Effendí*,\* the person who first informed him of the proposal of the enemy, to settle the articles of capitulation. These he settled in conformity to ancient custom. On the 21st of the month, five thousand four hundred miserable-looking wretches issued forth from the citadel, loaded with what private property they were able to carry—which they had been allowed to take with them—were put on board transports, and sent off to their own infidel country. One of their chief captains, however, embraced the Moslem religion, and was much caressed and befriended by the commanding general. All the Franks in *Osterghún* who followed the example of their brethren, who had lately entered the service of the grand sultán, shared the same immunities as those formerly mentioned. The injuries which *Osterghún* and *Dipadilin* had sustained in the siege were ordered to be forthwith repaired. The noble temple of *Osterghún*, which had been desecrated ever since the enemy had entered the city, and filled with their abominations, was also ordered to be purified; divine service according to Mohammedan usage was performed in it. A sufficient garrison was appointed: *Petchevli Ibrahim Effendí* and two other officers were sent off for Constantinople with intelligence of the

\* A Mohammedan writer, usually called by the first of these appellations, and frequently quoted by *Naima* in this history.

splendid victory gained over the infidels; and in consideration of which, each spahí received two, and each foot soldier one piece of money. The commanding general, after this distribution of money among his troops had taken place, directed his course towards Buda and Belgrade.

There can be no doubt that the fall of Osterghún contributed very much to induce the court of Vienna to submit, or rather to offer the conditions which they not long afterwards forwarded to the court of Constantinople.

*Progress of Botchkai.*

Botchkai, of whom we have before spoken, when thoroughly strengthened and supported by Ottoman forces, nothing withstood him: he was every where victorious. During the time that the Moslem general was employed in the reduction of Osterghún, Botchkai formed the design of laying siege to the fortress of Uivár, and therefore requested to be supplied with Moslem troops for that purpose. In accordance with this request Sinán Páshá, the beglerbeg of Agria, the princes of Serim, of Alasha Hisár, of Semendria, and the prince of Terhalah with a thousand Tátárs and a body of Circassians, were sent to his assistance. Botchkai committed the command of his army to an infidel of the name of Humnai, a Hungarian prince. Bektásh Páshá, formerly mentioned, was also engaged in the siege of Uivár. One thousand of the janissaries who had been engaged in the siege of Osterghún, and a considerable number of provincial troops, under the Khosrú Páshá, beglerbeg of Bosnia, were afterwards sent forward to Uivár; over whom, as well as over those Moslem troops already sent, he was made chief commander. Uivár, however, though at first it showed some little courage, soon submitted to Botchkai, who having expressed a desire that it should remain under his dominion, the commanding general, in conformity with the promise which had been made to him with regard to making him ruler of Mejár or Ardil, or both, deputed Teryákí Hasan Páshá to accompany Ahmed Effendí, the priest of the camp, and formally to install Botchkai in the possession of Uivár.

About this same period, Teryákí Hasan Páshá was sent with a division of

the Romeilian troops to reduce Besperim and Polatah. The last of these only he subjected to the Moslem yoke, and afterwards returned and joined the royal camp in the vicinity of Buda. The beglerbeg of Buda, Bosniak Mustafa Páshá, in the meantime, was degraded, and his beglerbegship was conferred on Ali Páshá son of Kází Zádeh, ruler of Silistria. The jurisdictions or sanjaks of Semendria, of Nicopolis, of Silistria, of Chormin, and of Wiza, were all put under the guardianship of the garrison of Buda.

After the fortress, which had been reduced, had been all repaired, the victorious general made preparations for returning to Belgrade.

*Botchkai pays a visit to the commanding General.*

When the grand vezir, Lálá Mohammed Páshá, returned, last year, to Constantinople, he did not forget to lay before his royal master a statement of the promise or engagements he, as the organ of the Ottoman government, had entered into with Botchkai; the result of which was a splendid crown, valued at three thousand ducats, and, moreover, richly studded with precious stones, for Botchkai. One Seyed Mohammed was sent to Botchkai from the commanding general, to inform him of what was going on in his favour, and to invite him to wait upon him. The commanding general, who at this time was encamped near Pest, no sooner heard of the near approach of Botchkai, who, in obedience to the invitation sent him, was coming to wait on him, than he ordered a splendid royal pavilion, handsomely adorned with fine curtains, to be erected for his royal visitor. The whole of the troops were ordered to stand under arms, and in proper order to receive him. The flooring of the pavilion was made of precious odoriferous wood or planks; and, in short, every thing suitable to the dignity of the approaching monarch was punctually attended to. At length Botchkai, attended by a guard of ten thousand Hungarians, besides many distinguished princes, arrived in the Moslem camp, and went immediately to pay his respects to the commanding general. The splendid and highly valuable crown, above referred to, was brought forth and placed on his head by the hands of the general. A richly-ornamented sword was presented him on the same occasion; and immediately afterwards

he was declared to be raised, by Ottoman imperial munificence, to the sovereignty of Hungary. The banners and standards, which the Ottoman government condescended to send him, were presented to him in due form. Botchkai made all due acknowledgment for the dignity and honour conferred on him, kissed the commanding general's hand, and said: "We are now become the emperor's servants. Those who are hired with money, serve generally out of fear of reproach or of punishment; but we, inasmuch as we are favoured servants, still manifest the most genuine and cheerful obedience." Thus, the contract first made with Botchkai was fully ratified and signed; the field-pieces in the camp were fired in token of joy; great demonstrations of heartfelt pleasure were every where, throughout the camp, instituted, and cheerfully observed; and Botchkai, now created king of Hungary, took leave of his friends and returned to his newly-acquired dominions.

Botchkai, after he was advanced to the rank and dignity of a sovereign prince, contributed very much to the welfare of the Moslem religion. So much so, indeed, that the infidel Germans, who were filled with hatred against him, when they found it impossible to take him in open battle, endeavoured by every means they could devise to poison him, which at last they accomplished.

When tidings of the death of Botchkai reached the Sublime Porte, the government proceeded to make choice of another of the Transylvanian princes to succeed him in the sovereignty of Transylvania,\* and Batori Ghabor was the one who was elevated to that dignity. The elevation of Batori Ghabor, as now hinted, had the effect of widening the breach between Turkey and Austria, but it eventually led to the latter's negotiating for peace.

\* There is something irrelevant in this. Botchkai is represented as having been raised to the sovereignty of Hungary, and not of Transylvania. The first of these is written *مجار* Majar, which is Hungary; and the second *اردل* Ardil, which is Transylvania, and which is said in the text to have been supplied with a new sovereign in room of Botchkai, who was created king of Majar or Hungary by the Ottoman emperor. But it seems not unlikely that by Majar, lower Hungary is meant, and of which Ardil or Transylvania was considered a portion. We find the word *هونغار يا* *Hungaria* employed, a few sentences afterwards, to mean the country of which the emperor of Austria's brother was duke.

The commanding general, who unfortunately became indisposed, remained a few days in Buda arranging and settling matters with his servants, appointed the celebrated hero Hasan Páshá, beglerbeg of Romeéli, commandant of Buda, and set out for Belgrade. On reaching this city, he paid off the troops, and allowed them to return to their own provinces; but he himself spent the winter there, where he enjoyed all the pleasures of life.

The Moslem army, by the assistance of God, achieved this year the advantages and triumph which they sought. This one campaign brought them more glory than any one of the preceding twelve. In fact, the Moslems accomplished more this year than they had done in all the others put together: so wonderfully successful had they been. The wealth they had acquired was altogether unprecedented in the history of their wars with the northern infidels.

The exalted commanding general, after having gone to Belgrade, as before mentioned, procured double pay for the troops. Petchevli Ibrahim Effendi was appointed to see the distribution properly attended to.

*Peace is proposed by the Archduke Mathias.*

Botchkai, of whom we have had a great deal to say, vexed and distressed the Austrians to the very utmost; which at last had the effect of inducing the Archduke Mathias, who was at that time in Vienna, when he perceived the danger which threatened to subvert from him the whole of his dominions, to send an embassy to the Moslem commander-in-chief. He clearly saw that his troops were not able to resist the superior force of the Ottomans, or withstand the powerful and vigorous hostility of Botchkai. His only army in Transylvania also was on the very point of being surrounded. When made aware of all these alarming circumstances, he sent the embassy alluded to, and, at the same time, informed the emperor his brother, who was at Prague, the capital of Bohemia, of what he had done. He stated in his communications to the emperor, that if a treaty of peace was not agreed upon he should by degrees be stripped of all his dominions in Hungary. "Part of them would fall," he said, "under the Turks, and the rest would be trampled under the feet of Transylvanian cavalry."

The emperor, well aware that peace was every way desirable, expressed his approbation of the steps Mathias had taken to bring about so very requisite an object.

The emperor, however, in conformity to the principles of his vain religion, applied to the ungracious Pope of Rome for his advice, who expressed himself altogether hostile to the measure proposed. This audacious pope\* had the hardihood and wickedness to write back to the emperor, desiring him to get his brother to withdraw the proposals he had made, or if he refused to do so, to kill him. Such was the advice of the pope.

The emperor informed his brother of the sentiments which his holiness had expressed, and urged him in the strongest manner to pay implicit regard to them: assured him, moreover, that it was of much more consequence to him to have the prince of religion on his side, than any relative, however near to him; and therefore conjured him to continue the war. Mathias replied, that it was of the utmost moment to him to have peace on any terms; that preliminaries had been entered into, and that he was determined not to recede.

In the meantime Mathias collected what Hungarian and Transylvanian forces he was able, who, when united with the troops he had sent to protect his Transylvanian dominions, formed a very considerable army. With this army he purposed advancing upon Prague, but the death of the emperor,† which happened at this time, put a stop to this warlike attempt.

The death of the emperor changed the aspect of affairs in relation to Mathias altogether, and bound him, in consequence of the law of succession, to respect the unworthy injunctions of the pope. This pope, to reproach and mortify Mathias for having offered conditions of peace to the Turks, raised Maximilian, a younger brother, an infidel, to the imperial dignity, to the exclusion of the lawful heir. It was that very same Maximilian, who, with his 70,000 infidels, was defeated before Agria by the heroic Sultán Ahmed Khán; that same Maximilian who hardly escaped from the

\* Probably Paul V., who was certainly capable of doing what Naima here asserts. He has been charged by others of having fostered civil war in Bohemia, Hungary, England, France, and Germany.

† Rodolph II.; but his name is not mentioned in the text.

scene of action with his life ; who, unable to mount his horse or gird on his sword, fled away on foot ; who, preferring a monastic life, ran off to the pope and entered into a monastery ; it was that very same Maximilian whom the pope, in the plentitude of his power, and in the bitterness of his wrath, nominated to fill the throne of the Roman emperors, and whom he sent into Hungary. Mathias, however, prepared to dispute his pretensions, and with the army he had led, or had intended to lead against his deceased brother, he stood ready to meet this Maximilian. But Maximilian's courage failed him, and Mathias, without striking a blow, ascended the throne of the Cæsars. Maximilian being now unable to promote the pope's purposes, was appointed to the government of Vienna, and Mathias repaired to Prague, the imperial city, and commenced the exercise of his imperial prerogatives.

After Maximilian had gone to Vienna, he, in conformity to an agreement between him and Mathias, who was bent on promoting a treaty of peace, sent, the year peace was concluded, two hundred thousand dollars towards fulfilling the stipulations of that treaty, but he was exempted for the space of twenty years from any farther demands of this kind ; though during each of the three years in which the negociations were carried on, he sent presents to the commander-in-chief, accompanied by letters humbly imploring a speedy termination of all hostilities.

*Concerning Jeghala Zâdeh's operations on the confines of Persia.*

Notwithstanding the misfortunes which fell, during the events of the last year, to the lot of Jeghala Zâdeh Sinân Pâshâ, he was this year, again in a condition to raise his standard in the province of Erzerûm. He removed his son, Mohammed Pâshâ, from Shirwân, and placed him in the government of Diarbeker, whilst that of the former reverted to Ahmed Pâshâ, son of Hasan Pâshâ.

Having heard that the Persians had concentrated their forces at Tabriz, he pushed forward his army as far as Salamas. This took place on the 21st of Rabia II. The perverted shâh came to Khûi, where the advance-army of both sides met ; but the Persians, after having sustained some loss, were obliged to retreat. At Hamla another of their divisions was completely



routed. On the following day, the sháh divided his army into three divisions on the lake of Tabriz, on the banks of which his troops had concentrated themselves on the preceding day. He himself, from motives of security to his own person, took up his position on a rising ground in the neighbourhood.

In the meantime, Gusah Sefer Páshá, the váli of Erzerúm, without counsel or advice, and contrary to the orders of the commander-in-chief, and followed by Tekeli Páshá, beglerbeg of Tabriz, Rázieh Zádeh, the váli of Sivas, his brother, Akhúyin Ahmed Páshá, Haider Páshá Zádeh, Ali Páshá, and others, amounting in all to fifteen beglerbegs, and more than twenty sanjak begs, advanced to attack the advance-guard of the enemy. The commanding officer, it is to be observed, had actually cautioned them against being too hasty, and warned them not to be rash in advancing; but this advice was regarded with contempt by the persons above-mentioned, who, in other respects, had acted arrogantly and disrespectfully towards the commander-in-chief, and now rushed forward with their respective troops, attacked the division under the khán, and fought the heretics till the sun had passed the meridian. Verily, Sefer Páshá, more like a lion or a tiger, committed the most dreadful havoc among these infidels and enemies of the faith. The red-heads, finding it impossible to resist the impetuosity and heroism of this valiant troop, fell back upon the division under Zulfekár Khán. The heroic Moslems, however, again rallied their little band together, and attacked this division also. The combat was most desperate, and continued till near evening; when, in the utmost confusion and consternation, they retreated upon the division which the sháh himself commanded, though not actually in person. Here they made an attempt to stand, but with no better success. It was now within half-an-hour of sunset, and so terrible was the fear which Sefer Páshá had inspired into these heretics that they fled into the mountains, leaving their whole baggage, and even their commander, behind them.

After these singular advantages obtained over the Persians, the sháh, with those who still adhered to him, endeavoured to make his way up a mountain, but not thinking himself safe there he retreated about half a stage,

where, on a rising ground, surrounded with a thousand terrors, he pitched his tent.

It turned out, however, that the Kizilbásh army, supported by the sháh's body-guard, resolved on attacking the commanding general's camp, which, they supposed, was left without any to defend it. But these dogs were met by a body of janissaries, salihdárs, and others, who stood ready to receive them, and who, with their arrows and small arms, drove them back. The contest, however, was obstinate, and maintained till sun-set, when the despicable wretches, after seeing many of their number wounded and perishing on the field of battle, fled back to their encampments. But Sefer Páshá, who was returning from the scene where he had performed so many and such wonderful exploits, met this horde as they were flying from the face of the Moslems, who had opposed and repulsed them just a little before, and fell upon him and his heroic followers. He and his party, of course, were much fatigued by their late exertions, which had been crowned with the most singular success; whilst the enemy, who thus attacked them, were comparatively fresh, and consequently it was not to be wondered at if they declined accepting a battle. This they did not altogether avoid, though a number of them, among whom was Tekeli Páshá, Jelali Karah Kásh Páshá, and Kechkár Páshá, with their respective followers, fled to the camp and escaped; whilst their companions fought till they fell martyrs on the field. In this bloody contest, Sefer Páshá, the hero of the party, and whose weapon nothing could resist, was at last wounded, and shortly afterwards his horse fell with him. Some of the Kizilbashes seized him and several other wounded veterans, and dragged them before the sháh, who ordered some of them to be killed, and to reserve the others. To Sefer Páshá he said, "if you will submit to me, and join our sect (*i. e.* the sect of Alf), I shall confer honour upon you." The firm Moslem replied, by wishing "a thousand curses to fall upon him and upon every heretic of his sect." The prisoner, who was bound to a stake, and exhibited to the view of the multitude, loaded the heretical sháh with every species of reproach and contumely, when immediately some of the vagabond red-heads rushed upon him and slew him. Thus ended

this brave man. It is true that the commanding officer sent more than once to dissuade him and his rash companions from their precipitate measures, but it is also true that Sefer Páshá, though a very brave man, was yet very obstinate and contumacious. Karah Kásh, and some others of his desperate followers, disregarding all subordination, resolved on being revenged on their enemies.

It is remarkable, and indeed it is one of the inscrutable ways of Providence, that those who fell in these various skirmishes were for the most part those levends or volunteers who had been very lately engaged in rebellion against the Ottomans. It rarely happened, throughout the whole of these struggles, that any of the sworn and paid troops fell. The Moslem army, generally, suffered no injury. But these levends, in God's distribution of justice, were made to expiate their former crimes and villany by making them wash their filth in this bloody fountain.—But to return.

The carnage to which we have above alluded was put a stop to by the return of night, when the contending parties were under the necessity of retiring. The Kizilbáshes, however, retreated, but the commander-in-chief maintained his ground, or at least he remained where he was (for it does not appear that he had any personal share in the actions which had taken place). During the night season the chiefs and nobles of Kurdistán came to wait on the commander-in-chief, with the view of consulting with him as to the circumstances in which they were then placed, and of the probable result of their movements and operations; but they were refused admittance, and were told that the commanding general was fatigued and could not see them. The chiefs returned to their own camp; but it soon began to be circulated that the commanding general had fled, and therefore the Kurds, when they heard this, struck their tents, and were on the eve of retiring, when Karah Kásh struck his tents also. The rest of these auxiliary native troops followed the example set before them, and the whole body of them set out for Wán. Jánbulát Zádeh Hasan Páshá, beglerbeg of Aleppo, was returning from the field of battle, where he had also been engaged the day before, when he met these fugitives, who informed him, though falsely, that the power of the commander-in-chief was completely broken. Believing that what they had assured him of

was true, he returned ; but learning afterwards that he had been deceived by them, he directed his steps towards the Moslem camp. To prevent, if possible, these fugitives occasioning any loss to the Moslem army, he from these disinterested views changed his mind, joined them, and went to Wán along with them.

The commander-in-chief collected, in the meantime, the whole of the troops who had remained with him in the camp, gave them all the cheering encouragement he was able, put them in regular order, and led them to the outside of the camp. On turning his eye towards the place which the enemy had occupied the day before, he could perceive no movement whatever that indicated their presence there. Whilst he and his army stood in amazement, and wondering what the result of so unexpected an occurrence might be, they were summoned to activity by Kechkár Páshá, beglerbeg of Wán, who asked them to what purpose they were standing and gazing ; when immediately the report, that the Kizilbáshes had come and taken away their cannon, was sounded. Their consternation increased, and they were unable to look at one another. Several of them fled. Of the whole of the army which the commander brought into the field, only two thousand household troops remained to him. Such of these as were foot-soldiers he mounted on camels, and in a short time, the commander and his remaining two thousand men were also on the way to Wán ; having left nearly the whole of his camp, guns, and treasures behind him.

The sháh of Persia, thinking it was very probable, however, that the Osmánlís by their sudden disappearance, and by the relinquishing of their camp-ground, had laid a stratagem for him, kept aloof for two days, and was afraid to enter : but at the end of this period he received certain intelligence, that the commander had actually fled to Wán, and he then ventured to visit the place where the Osmánlí camp had stood. With the exception of a few hired servants and some trifling articles, which had been left, the sháh found nothing to reward him for his trouble.

After the commander-in-chief had reached Wán, Jánbulát Zádeh Hasan Páshá waited upon him and told him how he had acted in keeping the troops who had fled from his camp together ; how he had brought them to a place of safety, and offered every apology which the circumstance of the

case seemed to have demanded: thinking, no doubt, that the commander would express his approbation of his conduct. He was much mistaken. The commander was not made of such material as to be moved by a flood of tears and expressions of humiliation and contrition. Calling him, therefore, to account for his dereliction of duty he made him answer for it with his life.

It has been related of Jánbulát Zádeh that he was advised by his friends, when he purposed to wait on the commander-in-chief, not to do so, because of the ill fortune his stars had predicted at his birth, and which he himself, from his own profound knowledge in the science of astrology, had clearly demonstrated to them. His friends succeeded, in the first instance, in preserving him from having any interview with the short-tailed dragons;\* but his lofty feeling of pride ruined him. "If I sleep," said he, in the pride of his heart, "Jeghala Oghlí (the commander-in-chief) will not certainly have the courage to watch." His pride brought him to his end. His death was the means of awakening in the minds of the troops, a feeling of great dissatisfaction. Thirty thousand of his troops or followers returned to Haleb, having chosen his brother, Alí Beg, and Hezer Beg as their commanders, and who, in revenge of Hasan Páshá, son of Jánbulát's, death, desolated that province, and continued their rebellion till they were overthrown by the celebrated Murád Páshá at a later period, as we shall relate in its proper place.

The commander-in-chief, the sport of fortune, left Wan and returned to Diarbeker on the 21st of Dhu'l hijja, where he died of a fever which the thoughts of his misfortunes had occasioned. He was a man whose avarice had no bounds. His constantly causing responsible persons to be changed from one place to another was productive of the most serious evils. He conferred the government of Syria on Sinán Páshá Zádeh, and shortly afterwards on Osmán Páshá. Nesúh Páshá, who was váli of Aleppo, he removed, and put Hasan Páshá, son of Jánbulát of the sanjak of Kilis, into his place, on the promise of his paying him a certain rent. And many more are the evils he occasioned, besides those we have mentioned.

*A battle between Serkosh Ibrahím Páshá and the Croations.*

Botchkai having promised to aid the Moslems against the infidels, the grand vezír, Mohammed Páshá, after the reduction of Osterghún, appointed his nephew, Serkosh Ibrahím Páshá, beglerbeg of Kaniza, and another military commander, belonging to Botchkai, to conduct an expedition of twenty thousand men, composed of Tátárs, Majarians, and Bosnians, to invade the territories of the enemy. This expedition commenced marching on the 5th of Jemadi II., and took the road which led to Vienna. On the confines of Croatia it was opposed by a considerable body of troops, there assembled for the purpose of checking its progress. A battle ensued, and the conflict was obstinate and bloody: several thousands of the infidels perished. Three times did this mighty army of the Germans attack the Turkish confederates, but was vanquished in its third attempt.

In the vicinity of the place where the confederates vanquished the German or Croatian army there were two fortresses or castles, which were under the dominion of the Pope. The names of these fortresses or castles were Súnbúrhil and Karmand, which the confederate army reduced, and slew every living German it found in them. Afterwards ten thousand of these same confederates marched in the direction of Vienna and Allemagne on a predatory excursion, and after having ravaged the countries through which they passed, they returned in triumph. The quantity of spoil and number of prisoners which they brought back with them, it is impossible to estimate. Very many of the German nobility were among the captives, and the Hungarian gentry were glad to come and join the camp of the confederates. Nevertheless Zerin Oghlí, and Bekár Oghlí, were not among those who thus joined the camp of the conquerors. These two Hungarian chiefs considered it beneath their dignity to bow to Botchkai's general, one of the two chief commanders of the confederates, but they sent some of their chief captains as their proxies.

*Mohammed Páshá, the son of Sinán Páshá, killed.*

Mohammed Páshá, son of Sinán Páshá, in consequence of his having been disappointed in his views of the government of Syria, through the ill-

will of Jeghala Zâdeh, commander-in-chief of the eastern provinces, he petitioned the court of Constantinople, and complained against the serdâr. That court, however, was pleased to confer Syria on Osmán Páshá in preference to him or any one else. When Mohammed Páshá learned that Osmán was appointed to Syria, he set out in great haste and wrath for Constantinople, where he meant to prefer his own claims. One day he entered into conversation with the vezírs, as they sat in council, about his own affairs; but he was reminded of the mal-administration he himself had been guilty of in the places where he had acted as válí or governor. As he was retiring from the presence of this council, more disposed to accuse him than to hear his complaints, he was called back and conducted into the royal presence. Here he was strictly interrogated as to his own conduct, but having been unable to answer the interrogatories which had been put to him, he was put to death in the royal presence without any further ceremony.

*The emperor, whilst at Adrianople, hears further intelligence as to the state of the rebellion in Anatolia.*

On the 1st of Jemadi I. the emperor went on a hunting excursion to Chetalmah, and thence, in three days, to Adrianople. He was only eight days in this city, where he had begun to distribute favours, when he received intelligence of the state and progress of the rebellion and disaffection which reigned in the province of Anatolia. In consequence, therefore, of the above unpleasant intelligence, he set out from Adrianople, reached the metropolis in six days, and immediately adopted means for curbing the rebellion and for chastising the rebels in Anatolia.

Nesúh Páshá, who last year had been transferred from the government of Haleb, was created commander of the troops employed against the insurgents in Anatolia. Indeed, it was considered of the utmost importance, by the government of Constantinople, that a vezír should be appointed to each of the eastern provinces, in order to check and subdue any spirit of rebellion which might arise, and which, in fact, seems to have been very generally the case with them all. Dávud Páshá, it will be remembered, was appointed to the east, but in consequence of his having evinced some inability



or weakness he was laid aside, and Kijdehán Alí Páshá was raised to the government of Anatolia in his stead. He also, it will likewise be remembered, was ordered to join his troops to those of Nesúh Páshá, and after they (*i. e.* he and Nesúh Páshá) had succeeded in crushing the rebellion in Anatolia, they were then to join Jeghala Zádeh, who acted as commander-in-chief against the Persians.

We have to relate, however, that Nesúh Páshá, and the troops under his command, sustained a serious defeat at the bridge of Bolawadin. At this bridge Nesúh, on the 1st of Rajab, was met by one Túyel, who headed a body of insurgents: the one army was at one end and the other at the other. Nesúh made all the preparations his circumstances could allow for commencing an engagement, putting his foot and horse in order of battle. The sound of his drums and trumpets reached the very parapets of heaven: his artillery was drawn up in regular order, and made to face the enemy. Nesúh thought his formidable appearance would have deterred the insurgents from ever attempting the bridge or river; but he was mistaken. The cavalry of these long-tailed and curiously-turbanned heretics had scarcely begun to move, than they instantly crossed the river or bog and put their swords and spears into immediate requisition against Nesúh's cavalry. These, as well as the whole of the rest of the Osmánli army, gave way; most of them were cut to pieces, and those who fell into the hands of these barbarians were dragged into the presence of Túyel, where, for the most part at least, they suffered a more ignominious death: Nesúh himself was indebted to the swiftness of his horse for the safety of his life. He fled, and never checked the bridle of his charger till he reached a place called Bekar-báshí, in the city of Seyed.

Túyel, who was left master of the field, and of the whole baggage of the conquered Osmánlis, set fire to the city of Bolawadin, massacred the whole of its inhabitants with the utmost ferociousness, and desolated the whole of that region from one end to the other.

Nesúh Páshá, after resting himself about two days, went to Kutahia, where Kijdehán, against whom he entertained an old grudge, then was, laid the whole blame of his defeat on his shoulders, and slew the innocent without mercy.

Kijdehán was a man that possessed a bitter and scurrilous tongue, and who spared nobody. To escape, therefore, the reproaches of his tongue, *i. e.* that he and those of his men who, like himself, had escaped the general carnage, might not be made the subjects of his ridicule and bitter reproach, he slew him. This, also, is asserted in the Fezliké, that, before this, and prior to the defeat he had sustained at the bridge of Bolawadin, he most unworthily, as well as unjustly, traduced the character of the inestimable and highly-respected Mohammed Chavush of Caramania, whom he crucified at Iconium, where he had met with him. This Mohammed Chavush was son to Karah Ali, and was raised to the situation he held in Caramania from the Chavush báshís.

Well aware that his conduct and ill fame would eventually reach the ears of the emperor, and that his displeasure might easily be excited against him, so as to make him the object of his vengeance, he, in order to prevent these results, determined on going to Constantinople. Accordingly he set out for Scutari, and thence to the Sublime Pôrte: went to the royal palace, and caused it to be announced that he had come from Anatolia to implore further aid to be sent to that quarter. Having been called to enter the royal presence, he gave such a representation of the state of matters as actually succeeded in inclining the emperor to cross over into Anatolia and take a personal share in the war with the insurgents. He, therefore, called together the khoaja effendí, the reverend mufti and the vezírs, and confronted them with Nesúh Páshá, in order to converse on the subject with him. At this interview with Nesúh, however, there was much disputing and great contention. All were opposed to the emperor's determination; but he himself remained inflexible. The emperor's best friends used their utmost efforts to dissuade him from the purpose he had formed, by endeavouring to point out to him a variety of dangers; but all in vain, and the consequence was, when they saw he could not be moved from his resolution, they all withdrew very much displeased. The vezírs, however, commenced making the necessary preparations for the emperor's intended journey, but at the same time used a variety of methods, such as representing to him that the fleet had not arrived, and that at any rate the season for safe sailing was fast passing away, in order, if possible, to induce him

him to alter his mind ; but all to no purpose. The emperor, notwithstanding all the efforts which had been employed to dissuade him from his undertaking ; notwithstanding, also, that the winter had fully set in, and the roughness of the sea, he continued bent on proceeding. A royal firmán was sent off to Nukásh Hasan Páshá to have the palace at Brúsa in a state of complete preparation for the arrival of his majesty, and Dervish Aghá, bostánjí báshí, who was afterwards created a vezír, but subsequently assassinated, was appointed commandant of Istambol.

In the meantime, however, the empress-mother took her journey to the other world, and her remains were conducted by her royal son and the great men of the state, to St. Sophia, where the funeral service was performed. They were afterwards interred in the tomb of Sultán Mohammed III., on which occasion charities and alms deeds were attended to in behalf of the deceased.

It was thought that the death of his mother might have so affected the sultán as to cause him to give up all thoughts of his intended expedition into Anatolia ; but it had no such effect. On the seventh day after his mother's decease, he became quite impatient, ordered the only three galleys which were then in the harbour to be held in readiness, and on the 2d day of Rajab he set sail for Brúsa. On the day after his arrival in Brúsa, he summoned his vezírs, the military judges, and other magnates, to assemble in council in the royal palace of that place, where he himself was. Súfi Sinán Páshá, the káimákám, who had taken no active hand in making preparations for the emperor's expedition, was not called, or if called, did not attend. Davud Páshá and Nesúh Páshá had both been previously sent to keep possession of two places on the frontiers. Mohammed Páshá, son of Ové Páshá, likewise made no movement towards Brúsa, but he wrote to the emperor's chaplain, informing him that he had twenty thousand troops in full readiness. " If I shall be called," said he, in his communication to the royal chaplain, " to be exalted to the vezírship, without either the aid of troops or apparatus from the government, I will go, and to the utmost of my power, endeavour to reduce the insurgents." The title of vezír, and the appointment to the chief command, was forthwith sent him, and he was invited to wait on his

majesty in his palace at Brúsa, in order that his majesty might confer with him respecting the enemy against whom he was to proceed. Mohammed, however, acknowledged neither the one nor the other of these royal intimations; nor did he think it worth his while to come to Brúsa to wait on his benefactor; or to proceed a single step against the insurgents. On the contrary, he went to Gúzel Hisár, where he gave himself up to every variety of pleasure. The reverend tutor felt disgrace and grief at the shameful way the cunning páshá had duped him, and, in fact, poor Khoaja Effendí, in consequence of this, most completely lost his influence with the emperor.

On the 14th of the last mentioned month (*viz.* Rajab), about four or five thousand spáhís, who had fled to Anatolia to escape the vengeance of Yemishjí Hasan Páshá, which had been excited against them in consequence of the tumult which the spáhí legion had raised in Constantinople in the days of the late emperor, and for which many of their superiors had been put to death, returned to their obedience, and were again received into favour. These spáhís were as great rebels as any in Anatolia, and committed every species of robbery and spoliation. On making their submission they appeared armed and accoutred before Súfí Sinán Páshá, the vezírs and the military judges, and preferred the grounds on which they conceived they had been aggrieved, and which had led them to act as they had done. Their case was laid before his majesty, who not only forgave them, but also restored their officers to their former situations, rewarded them with tokens of favour by conferring robes on them, distributed to them their pay, and dividing them into two bodies sent one division to Kutahia to remain under the orders of Dávud Páshá, and the other under Nesúh Páshá.

Dervish Aghá, who had been appointed in his majesty's absence to the commandership of Constantinople, was forbidden to exercise any further authority in that capacity, on account of some misconduct which he had been guilty of. Mustafa Páshá, one of the vezírs, was sent back to act in his stead.

On the 16th his majesty, after having paid a visit to the sepulchres of his ancestors, and the tombs of the venerable saints, returned and bathed

himself in a fountain. On the 19th he set sail from Modanieh, and arrived in the imperial city on the same day.

*An overture made to Túyel.*

On the 9th of Shaban of this year, a conciliatory letter was sent to Túyel, the chief ring-leader among the insurgents, and also the offer of a beglerbegship; but no answer as to his having accepted the offer made to him, was returned: on the contrary, acting under the influence of his brother, his violence and cruelty increased beyond all bounds. The káímakám, in order to put a stop to the enormities which this rebel and others were guilty of, and which were every day increasing, tried to ensnare this terrible rebel. To induce him to throw down the weapons of his rebellion, the deputy proposed joining Anatolia, Sívás, and Háleb into one, and to offer the government of these united districts to Túyel. When the deputy presented this proposal, and also a letter he had received from Túyel, on the 17th of the last mentioned month, for his majesty's approbation, however, he met with a serious repulse, and for his temerity was turned out of office. Khezer Páshá was raised to the deputyship.

On the 24th, the chief butler, Mohammed Aghá, was raised to the government of Syria. On the 9th of Ramazan, the bóstánjí báshí, Dervísh Aghá, was created admiral: he was highly esteemed by the emperor. On the 9th of Shevál, the cazí of Constantinople, Rezván Effendí, was degraded, and Hasan Effendí, son of Akhí, succeeded him in the cazíship.

*The grand vezír, Mohammed Páshá, is recalled to Constantinople.*

When tidings of the disgrace and ignominy which befell Jeghala Zádeh in the east, and of his death at Diarbeker, had reached the royal ear, it was resolved on, in council, to send a statement of the affairs of the east to Mohammed Páshá, the commander-in-chief at Belgrade, and to request him to return to Constantinople, in order that he might proceed to the east and take the command of the troops there. In the royal communication which, in conformity to the above resolution was sent to him, it was thus stated: that in the event of his declining to accept the proposal sent him,

he might remain were he was, but only in the character of second vezír, and to return the seals of office. But before these communications had reached the grand vezír he had petitioned to be allowed to return to the seat of government.

*A commotion among the Janissaries and Spáhís.*

A little after the commencement of the month of Ramazan, the janissaries, in consequence of not having received the pay and clothing that were due to them, began to show signs of impatience and insolence. The spáhís, following their example, the very next day began to talk loudly about their own dues, and soon acquired a most dangerous aspect. Without ceremony, and in no way intimidated by their vicinity to the royal palace, they threw stones at their officers before its very gate, gave the most abusive language to the treasurer, and threatened him in no measured terms. They complained of the person who had formerly weighed out their money to them, and got him turned out of office. His friends, however, interfered, and asked the reason of depriving him of his official situation, but to no purpose. The discontent and tumult increased, and at length reached the ears of the emperor. On the 23d of Ramazan, early in the morning, the emperor, dressed in a scarlet robe, very indicative of the state of his mind, for he was enraged, came forth and sat down in Báyzád's portico; called together his vezírs, ághás, notaries, and other principal officers, and delivered a very warm and animated speech, in their hearing, to the mob; and in which he severely rebuked them. He said, that though he had written to them, that so soon as his treasurer, who was engaged in collecting the taxes, should return, their wages and all their just rights would be punctually attended to, they, instead of giving credit to his royal word, as they ought to have done, and behaving themselves orderly, became unruly, turbulent, and abusive, and that, too, before the very portals of his palace.

The multitude, at hearing the emperor's speech, were completely confounded, and not one of them was able to say a single word in reply, or in justification of the conduct they had manifested. One Yúsuf Aghá, however, head of the Moghreb and Yemin regiments, advanced and thus addressed his majesty. "May it please your majesty, the sole cause of the unreason-

able conduct which has been manifested is attributable to the slaves brought up in the royal haram, and those foreigners who have been introduced into the spáhí legion at the request of the khán of the Crimea." His majesty, on hearing the sentiments expressed by Yúsuf Aghá, enquired the names of the persons who had excited the irregularity and tumult which had prevailed. The vezír pointed out to him the ring-leaders, and immediately a sign was given to take vengeance on them for their folly and temerity. Shahbáz Aghá, chief of the salihdárs; Koorgha Zádeh, notary to the spáhí legion; and Yek Cheshm Mohammed Effendí, were made the objects of imperial vengeance on this occasion. Others who had been involved in the same condemnation with the above were also visited with a similar punishment. The comptroller of the cavalry, after he was conducted to the place of execution, escaped the death which awaited him by the intervention of the grand vezír, who interceded in his behalf. The ketkhoda of the spáhís escaped in a similar way.

The grand sultán, after these various instances of his severity and justice, concluded his harangue by warning the tumultuous soldiery (spáhís) of their danger; assuring them, that if ever afterwards they should manifest a similar spirit of insubordination, he would take vengeance on their whole legion; and dismissed the crowd, desiring them at the same time to remove the bodies of their companions from the place of execution.

The officers belonging to the spáhís were all changed; and the treasurer, Etmekjí Zádeh, no sooner arrived than the wages of the spáhí troops were forthwith paid them.

*The commander-in-chief arrives at Constantinople.*

When the hostilities which for a long time had raged on the frontiers of Hungary, had ceased to threaten the peace and security of the Ottoman dominions, the rebellion in Anatolia began to wear a much more serious aspect than it had done at any former period. The grand vezír, Mohammed Páshá, as we formerly mentioned, was fixed on to take the chief command in Anatolia, with the view of bringing the troubles of that country to a termination. The celebrated Mohammed Páshá no sooner received the royal intimation on this head than he appointed Teryákí Páshá, beglerbeg



of Romelli, as his deputy at Belgrade, whither he had called him; and Kúski Mohammed Effendí as defterdár in his absence. Having committed the management of the affairs of the frontiers to these two officers, he left Belgrade on the fourth day of the grand festival (*i.e.* Easter), and arrived at the Sublime Porte on the 7th of Dhu'l Kadah, when his majesty showed him every token of esteem and respect

*Delí Hasan killed at Temisvar.*

We have had frequent occasion to advert to the history of Delí Hasan, the brother of Karah Yázijí (Scrivano). We have mentioned how he had been raised to the government of Bosnia; the evil deeds he had been there guilty of; his expulsion thence; and his subsequent appointment to the government of Temisvar. Here he acted nearly two years in the character of váli, and had it in his power, by good conduct, to remove the unfavourable impressions which his former deportment had but too justly given rise to.

After the reduction of Osterghún, his excellency the commander-in-chief, sent word to the inhabitants of Temisvar to have an eye on Delí Hasan, and to watch his movements. This hint was enough. One day some of the garrison of Temisvar went out as if they had meant to follow the chase, but instead of this fell upon Delí Hasan and his suite, the latter of whom they killed. Delí Hasan fled to Belgrade, where Ghází Hasan Páshá, the káímakám, received him as his guest. He afterwards, however, placed him within the fortress, and sent an account of his arrival at Belgrade to Constantinople; whence a sentence of death against Delí Hasan, his brother's son, Kuchuk Beg, was instantly returned, and both of them underwent that sentence accordingly.

It has been reported, that whilst Delí Hasan was in Bosnia, he had attempted a most daring crime against the Ottoman government, which however had failed. As this story is not less wonderful in its development than it was audacious in its contrivance, we shall here relate it. Delí Hasan, it would appear, wrote letters to the Venetians and to the pope, asking them to have a fleet in readiness opposite the fortress of Rasna; promising, in these letters, that he would deliver up that fortress to them, and that he

would afterwards reduce several other places of strength on the shores of the Archipelago, and deliver them over to them also ; but it was necessary, he added, that they should pay him a hundred thousand pieces of gold in advance. It was in this manner he proposed to stipulate with the enemy. No answer to these proposals having reached him whilst he was in Bosnia, he, after his translation to Temisvar, hired a fellow for a hundred pieces of gold, and sent him off with a duplicate of his former communications to the two parties above-mentioned. This hired peasant, or whatever he was, instead of fulfilling his engagement, went and waited upon Murád Páshá, the then commander-in-chief, told him all he knew, and showed him Delí Hasan's letters. The commander desired him to proceed without delay and deliver them in the proper quarter, but to be sure to call on him when he returned. The messenger set out as he had been desired, and delivered his papers in the manner he had been directed : when the king of Spain and the pope sent, each of them, an agent along with Delí Hasan's messenger, who was to communicate to him the views of these personages. These two agents and the messenger reached Zimnún, where the two former took up their lodgings in a certain house, whilst the latter proceeded to inform the authorities of their arrival, and the purport of their message : and which, among other things, went on to say, that they, the bearers, were the accredited agents of the two personages formerly mentioned, that the words of these men might be as much relied on as if they had been heard proceeding from the lips of their principals ; that they had sworn fidelity to the trust reposed in them, and that, therefore, every apprehension of fraud being practised ought to be banished. Such, in fact, was the story these agents themselves delivered before Abdi Alí, Murád Páshá's deputy, whom they actually supposed was Delí Hasan himself. These messengers, or agents, were moreover commissioned to say, that as soon as they returned with an answer to the pope and the king of Spain, a draft on the Franks residing in Belgrade for one hundred thousand pieces of gold would be instantly sent to Delí Hasan. Such is the version of this story : and it is hardly necessary to say that these two accredited infidels were immediately put to death.

Tobacco, which had been introduced in Turkey from Frangistan, had

been made the subject of much discussion, and seems, this year, through the bitter contention which the use of it had occasioned, to have become more in vogue than at any former period since its introduction; though it had been productive of certain evil to those who received it, or who had any thing to do with it.

*Concerning the grand vezir, Lálá Mohammed Páshá.—His death.—Dervish Páshá raised to the vezirship.*

Lálá Mohammed Páshá, the grand vezir and commander-in-chief, the reader will remember, returned to Constantinople: and though the affairs between Austria and the Sublime Porte had not been finally settled, yet such was the necessity of restoring the peace and tranquility of Anatolia, that every other consideration was made subservient to this. It was maintained, in a council held in the imperial presence, to be of paramount importance that two chief commanders should be appointed: the one to proceed to the frontiers of Hungary, the other to the east; that the grand vezir, in order to have it in his power to send efficient supplies to both quarters, should remain at the seat of government, and there discharge the duties of his high office.

In this council reference was made to the inefficiency, ill-management, and ill-success of former commanders in the east, and therefore the members of the council proposed Nesúh Páshá as the person who was by far the most competent to perform the duties of commander-in-chief in the east. It was moreover alleged in his favour, that he was son-in-law to the emperor; a circumstance which could not fail, it was said, to secure the affections of the Kurds. Nesúh was, accordingly, made third vezir and commander-in-chief of the forces in the eastern provinces; and Murád Páshá was appointed to the command and management of the affairs on the frontiers of Hungary. After these deliberations had been fully attended to, the emperor expressed his approbation of the resolutions which had been adopted, and issued orders for drawing out a commission for each of the two newly-elected commanders, defining the power and authority they were to exercise. The government of Baghdad was annexed to the vezirship and dominion already possessed by Nesúh, and he was, moreover, made com-

mander-in-chief against the Persians. The váli of Romešli, and the princes of the borders, with their respective armies, were ordered to march towards Hungary. The government of Aleppo was conferred on Hasan, ághá of the janissaries, who was expected to repress the disturbances which afflicted that portion of the Ottoman dominions. The kálmakám, Khezer Páshá, was appointed to the guardianship of the fortresses on the Danube.

The grand vezír, the heroic Lálá Mohammed Páshá, who most scrupulously attended to all these new arrangements was, notwithstanding, thwarted in some of his purposes by Dervish Páshá, who had succeeded to the admiralship in the room of Jeghala Zádeh. By his intrigues the brother of Tarnákji Hasan Aghá was deprived of his ágháship, and ordered to proceed to the government of Aleppo, although the grand vezír intended to confer on him the province of Romešli as a reward for his heroism at the taking of Osterghún, of which he was the principal cause. Dervish was obstinate, and conferred, or was the means of conferring, the ágháship of the janissaries on Maryol Hasan Aghá. Poor Hasan Páshá was obliged to set out for Aleppo, and had scarcely got to Adrianople, which was about half-way, when he was attacked by a monstrous rebel of the name of Jemshid, who murdered him.

Dervish Páshá, still bent on evil purposes, expressed his disapprobation of the appointments conferred on Nesúh Páshá; and, in short, wrought so effectually on the mind of the emperor by his representations, that he succeeded in procuring him to issue an order for the grand vezír himself to repair to the east and take the chief command in that quarter. When Mohammed Páshá entered the council, the emperor addressed him by saying that it was found necessary that he (the grand vezír) should be the person who should take the command of the forces employed against Persia, and ordered him to commence preparations for the journey. He concluded this speech by saying farther: that it was expected that this year a peace with Austria would be concluded. The grand vezír, when he heard the emperor's sentiments, was speechless and confounded. The emperor repeated his commands, and the vezír, without making any reply, returned to his own house, where he in vain endeavoured to collect his thoughts and calm the agitation of his mind.

On the following morning Nesûh Pâshâ waited on him to congratulate him on his appointment, and spoke to him in as consolatory and soothing a manner as he was able. "Let us," said he, "go together: let us render all the services we can for the welfare of our country: God willing, you will find in Asia so many things to comfort and delight you as will cause you to forget your northern campaigns." Nesûh, by this mode of address, succeeded in bringing the mind of the afflicted grand vezîr to some degree of peace and tranquillity.

In the council above alluded to, Dervish Pâshâ preferred several accusations against the grand vezîr, but which he, the grand vezîr, rebutted by giving a circumstantial relation of all the services in which he had been engaged, and concluded by saying he had some reason to fear that the negotiations with Austria might still prove abortive—"and thus," said he, weeping, "our last twelve years of war will end in nothing." He again requested the emperor to permit him to proceed to the frontiers of Hungary and conclude the peace, the preliminaries of which had been entered into during his own active service in the north. Nesûh, he said, was the emperor's son-in-law, was every way competent for accomplishing the emperor's wishes in the east, and therefore earnestly besought the grand Sultân to stand by his first appointment. All, however, was in vain. The emperor remained inflexible, and forced Lâlâ Mohammed Pâshâ, whether he would or not, to erect his tent at Scutari. In consequence of these circumstances, so repugnant to the mind of the grand vezîr, as well as others which carried along with them their vexations, his health became very much impaired, and yet notwithstanding, he was forced that very week, by repeated orders, to repair to Scutari. It so happened, in the providence of God, however, that whilst he was presiding in his own divân he was struck by a paralytic stroke. His âghâs carried him to his tent, and immediately his physicians were called in to administer what aid they were able. An account of this circumstance reached the metropolis, when the wicked Dervish Pâshâ had the audacity to represent to his majesty that the grand vezîr's disease was wholly feigned; and instigated him to send a violent and threatening letter to Lâlâ Mohammed Pâshâ, the very next day,

accusing him of feigning himself unwell, and ordering him, in the most peremptory manner, to begin his march without delay.

The afflicted Lálá Mohammed Páshá caused a humble petition to be written out and laid before his majesty ; in which he stated that he required above all things, if his majesty entertained any doubts as to the ill state of his health, that he would send any one of his most confidential servants to see him, and report accordingly. It was utterly impossible for him, in his weak state of health, he said, to leave Scutari unless he was carried in a couch. The emperor was induced by this to send the ághá of the palace to the prime minister, who, when he returned, informed his majesty that the minister was so very weak as to be under the necessity of keeping his bed ; in short, that he was seriously and dangerously ill. When his majesty received this report of his minister's state of health he ceased pressing him any farther.

When the official messenger above referred to first waited on the prime minister, he, the minister, became so much affected that he could not restrain his tears. "Are my services," said he, in the bitterness of his spirit, "are my services to my country so little thought of that doubts of my veracity should be entertained? Kiss the border of my emperor's robe when you return, and tell him the weak state in which I am. When I die I leave behind me six orphans, and I hope God will reward the emperor for whatever kindness and favour he may show to them." The officer, on hearing the grand vezír express himself thus, and having had besides the evidence of his senses to convince him of the dangerous state of his health, he, too, was so overcome with sorrow that he returned to his master, the grand Sultán, and declared to him, weeping, that the worth of this minister was unknown, and therefore not appreciated. "Why is it," continued the ághá of the palace, "that your majesty has hearkened to the calumny of his enemies? The consequence is, you see, that he is likely to be prematurely cut off." The answer to all this was, that if he died another would be found to fill his place.

On the third day of this grand vezír's illness—an illness, there is every reason to believe, wholly occasioned by the treatment of the emperor—his

troubles terminated with his life : he gave up the ghost. The rest of the vezírs, the great men of the state, and ulema, assembled together and attended his remains to the temple of Sultán Mohammed Ghází, where the funeral service was performed ; and he was afterwards interred in his own burial ground in the neighbourhood of Abieyúb. Among the procession which accompanied the bier of Lálá Mohammed Páshá to the place of interment, was Dervish Páshá, the lord high admiral of the Turkish fleet, the bitter and relentless enemy of the deceased, but who had his eye on the premiership. He returned to his own house, joyfully anticipating that the seals of office would be conferred on himself. This was what he wished and what he strived for, but at the expense of every honest virtue and upright feeling.

Mufti Siná-allah Effendí relates, that a Portuguese physician who attended Lálá Mohammed Páshá in his illness, had, through the instrumentality of Dervish Páshá, administered to him, in the form of medicine, what proved mortal to the patient.

When the testament of the late grand vezír was presented to the emperor, he ordered the sums of money that were mentioned in it to be applied to the defraying of the war, but the rest of his effects he permitted to be given to the afflicted children of the deceased. Out of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats and one hundred yuks of dollars, which had belonged to Lálá Mohammed Páshá, and which had been seized at the instigation of Dervish Páshá for the purpose above explained, only a small portion of his extensive wealth fell to the share of his helpless orphans.

The wicked Dervish Páshá now arrived at the summit of his wishes. The seals were no sooner conferred on him than he recommended Ja'fer Páshá, the European, who had been three times beglerbeg of Cyprus, to succeed to his vacant situation in the admiralty, and spoke of him as being very skilful in naval affairs. Ja'fer Páshá was, in consequence, appointed lord high admiral of the Ottoman fleet in the room of Dervish Páshá, who had succeeded to the grand vezírship.

When the new prime minister first took his seat in the diván after his elevation to the premiership, he intimated to the chavush báshí that the members of the diván were not to view him in the light of former ministers. "Whoever puts off a poor man's case till to-morrow, when it ought to be



attended to to-day," said this fierce minister, " shall have his head cut off: *that*," continued he solemnly opening a book, " shall be his fate, and from which he shall in nowise escape."

#### EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1015, H.

On the afternoon of the same day the son of an aged man who had retired from his beglerbegship was beheaded, and his property seized by the avaricious Dervish; but though all who witnessed this cruel transaction hesitated not to speak of it as an act of foul murder, yet it had not the effect of preventing a concourse of nobles and grandees coming to congratulate the new grand vezir on his elevation to the premiership. On the third day after Dervish Páshá's exaltation, the emperor's chaplain waited on him to pay his respects; and the mufti effendí, the Moslem high priest, after having performed the public service at the mosque, waited on the prime minister and kindly joined with him in his afternoon devotions. When the reverend mufti was about to retire, the grand vezir informed him that there would be no public diván on the following day, but that a council would be held in the royal presence, and at which he invited him to be present. The reverend high priest bowed and promised to attend.

Next morning the whole of the ministers and the reverend effendís met in council in the imperial presence, and after listening to the opening speech of the emperor, they were informed that it was then too far in the season to prosecute any farther, that year, the object which he had in view in ordering preparations in behalf of Anatolia and the east; and then added, that it would be far more advisable to let things remain as they then were until the following year, when the preparations alluded to would be again resumed. The council, on hearing these sentiments uttered, were struck dumb with surprise. At length the mufti effendí spoke. " With indecent impatience, certainly," said the reverend prelate, " your slave (Lálá Mohammed Páshá) was hurried in the work of preparation for the war in the east, and contrary to the views of almost all here present, his tent was ordered to be erected at Scutari. Is it prudent, think you, sire, to call back to Constantinople the camp there established? Rather let the commander-in-chief (probably Nesúh) go on to Aleppo; there winter, and

make preparations for commencing, in the spring, hostilities against the Persians." His majesty to this replied, by asking him what advantage he thought would accrue from following that advice. "Why," rejoined the reverend prelate, "the advantage which will accrue is this: the royal camp will not have gone forth for no purpose: the royal pavilion (the serdâr's tent) will not have been erected in the sight of friend and foe in vain. When Sultán Soleimán Khán went to the Nakhcheván war he wintered at Aleppo, and when the following spring arrived, he marched to the east. Such is the method which ought now to be pursued." The emperor again enquired what good he supposed or imagined would result from following the course he had pointed out. The reverend mufti hastily replied: "was it creditable that a Moslem army, encamped at Scutari, and ready for entering into the scene of action, should be recalled before that army had accomplished the purpose for which it had been assembled? At least, should not that army, I ask, even though it should accomplish nothing more, be sent to protect our possessions in the east?" The emperor, pressed by the reasoning of the high priest, answered, that Ferhád Páshá might proceed with a few troops, and take the camp at Scutari along with him. "Well, then," asked Siná-allah Effendí, "shall not a sum of money be allowed for the purpose of purchasing provisions for them?" The emperor briefly answered, "that there was no money in the treasury; and whence," said he, "can I furnish money for that purpose?" The reverend prelate, still persevering in pressing the emperor, asked if the treasury of Egypt might not afford a supply. "That," rejoined the emperor, "is for our private expenses; we cannot part with the funds supplied from that quarter." "Why, then," continued the high priest, and without being in the least awed or terrified, "how did your ancestor, Sultán Soleimán Khán, do when he went to the war at Sigetwar at a time when his treasury was drained? Thus: he took all the gold and silver vessels which were in the royal house, sent them to the mint, caused them to be melted down into specie, and thus provided himself with the means of paying the expense of the war. Doubtless," added the bold and fearless priest, "doubtless, the treasury of Egypt can well afford to advance the sum requisite for the object now proposed." The emperor knit his brow and thus addressed the

mufti: "Thou dost not comprehend my meaning, effendí; thou understandest not my words. Times are not always alike. The circumstance you refer to was requisite for that time. Why is it that you assume the present exigency to be similar to that which existed at the period you have mentioned?" The menla, perceiving his oratory had made no impression on the mind of the emperor, rose up with the rest of the counsellors and departed.

Katib Chelebí says, in his Fezliké, that Hasan Beg Záhéh has recorded this story in his history as a well authenticated fact. The circumstance referred to in the reign of Soleimán and that now related, can admit, we think, of no comparison, and it would be an error in judgment to suppose them similar. The opinion of the emperor, as expressed in the conversation we have related, seems to have been incontestably correct.

Dervish Páshá was very much offended at the bold and fearless way in which the reverend mufti expressed himself in the above council; he perceived, or thought he perceived, the mufti had laboured hard to get him sent off to the eastern provinces. So much, indeed, did this evil-minded vezír feel himself aggrieved by the sentiments expressed by the mufti, that he determined on getting him deprived of his theological prerogative of issuing fetwas; a difficulty, however, presented itself, to get rid of which he was much puzzled. "If," thought he, "I make Khoaja Záhéh mufti (the emperor's chaplain), his two brothers, already in power, will form a union with him, and then they will deny me the liberty of speech." This thought had the effect of making him change his mind with regard to Khoaja Záhéh, and he at last raised Abulmeymin Mustafa Effendí, a second time, to the sacred office of mufti.

Although Dervish Páshá had used every method he could contrive, however unworthy, of getting the late grand vezír, Lálá Mohammed Páshá, sent to the eastern provinces, yet he himself, now that he was made grand vezír, manifested the utmost unwillingness to undertake the task he wished so earnestly to impose upon his predecessor. Being, as he thought, secure in the premiership, and courted by all ranks of men, he became lavish in his promises, and exposed himself to the art and cunning of sycophants who crowded round him. One of the thousand flatterers who sounded his

praises, and who was anxious to be put in possession of a good situation, when talking with him one day, went the length, in his fulsome adulations, thus to address him: "My lord, thou art the sun that illuminates the world, which scatters a reviving light throughout all regions, and which removes the darkness from the world." This contemptible, mean fellow, who ascribed to him epithets which only belong to God, he promoted to a situation of honour and emolument; demonstrations that this sort of flattery and adulation was pleasing to his heart and suitable to the state of his mind.

To escape the fatigues incident to a military life, he found or invented means to prevent his being sent to take command of the Ottoman armies, and got the emperor to favour his remaining at home. What he himself declined he transferred to another. Ferhád Páshá was fixed on to take the command of the troops destined for the east, which were still encamped at Scutari. Ferhád's inexperience and unfitness for the important office assigned him was but too evident to every one; but to promote his own views and purposes Dervîsh Páshá got this man appointed commander-in-chief, notwithstanding his utter unfitness for so great an undertaking as that of commanding the army of the east against the enemies of the Ottoman empire.

Ferhád passed over to Scutari on the 4th of the month Sefer. Osmán Aghá, ketkhodá of the janissaries, with 10,000 troops, six companies of artillery, and the provincial troops of Caramania and Sivas, were all to act under his command.

This expedition, however, as might have been anticipated, failed. Want of generalship in the commander, added to the absence of common feeling between him and his various troops; his ignorance, rashness, and scurrility of tongue, all contributed to estrange the troops from him. A violent contention having taken place between him and the spáhís, they raised a commotion about their pay, and attacked his tent with stones, and soon demolished it. With the exception of these disgraceful scenes to which we have here adverted, this expedition achieved nothing worthy of remark. A certain writer, Mahmúd Chelebî, relates, that when this mad Ferhád went to Brása, he collected about him a number of necessitous adventurers, and,

when remonstrated with respecting this, he was accustomed to reply in the most harsh and profane language. In other respects his conduct was also similar: his troops dispersed; some of them having received no pay, were obliged to proceed to Turkey to receive it; and he himself, after being degraded, took up his residence at Iconium, where he died of grief.

*Dervish Páshá is murdered.—Murád Páshá is made grand vezír.*

Ferhád Páshá, we have seen, was sent to take the command of the war in the east, and Dervish Páshá, the grand vezír, remained at home. In consequence of his utter want of the talents and skill of a general, and his total unfitness, in every respect, for the important office assigned him, Ferhád failed most deplorably in obtaining the least advantage; on the contrary, his conduct was productive of the most serious evils. Kilmamemkila, the son of Kalandar, a noted rebel, during the time Ferhád was commander-in-chief, entered into Aydin and Sarúkhán (sanjáks of Anatolia), where he committed the most dreadful outrages and violence. A number of the inhabitants hastened to Constantinople and complained bitterly to the emperor against Ferhád and his adventurers, who, they said, tyrannized over them and oppressed them. These evils, of course, were attributed, in the first instance, to the mal-administration of the grand vezír, who, instead of having taken upon himself the charge of the expedition, had sent Ferhád, of whom we have heard so much, to supply his place. The eyes of the people began to be opened to see and to appreciate the conduct of the prime minister, and in their hearts they became totally opposed to him, and those who had the nearest approach to his majesty's ear began to urge his removal. The late reverend mufti, Siná-allah Effendí, who, for having spoken his mind freely and openly, the reader will remember, had been turned out of the muftiship, was now again, a third time, installed into that high office, which Abulmeymín Mustafa Effendí had scarcely enjoyed three months. Things now began to wear a new aspect. The mal-administration of the grand vezír could no longer be concealed or connived at. The excesses of Dervish Páshá and his wicked government were represented to his majesty, who had hitherto favoured his minister. These things, with the complaints which had reached him from Anatolia,

greatly excited his displeasure; and so clear and evident did his minister's guilty conduct appear, that he became as much opposed to him as he had previously been swayed by his advice. The emperor, now thoroughly satisfied of the mal-administration of his minister, summoned the reverend mufti and the reverend professors, in order to converse with them respecting the grand vezír's conduct and mismanagement, and to consult with them as to the person most competent to fill the office of premier. This consultation, as might easily have been foreseen, terminated unfavourably to the interests of the grand vezír, who soon afterwards expiated his crimes by the forfeiture of his life. A hare's sleep (*i. e.* a false promise) having been given to him, he was, for a short time, flattered and caressed, until he was one day called to the royal palace, when he was suddenly assassinated by the bostánjís. It is said that he was first strangled with a tent-rope, but a short time after a movement being perceived in his feet, the emperor drew his dagger and cut his throat.

*The cause of his death more particularly related.*

We have already adverted to the wicked and fraudulent methods which Dervish practised during his short vezírship, and for which he suffered the just reward: the following assisted to accelerate his miserable end. One of those Jews usually employed by the grandees was engaged in the service of Dervish Páshá, and, owing to the fidelity with which he served his master, he succeeded in securing a very near access to him. It was a practice among these Jews, when any of them were thus employed, to keep an account of what they expended as well as of what they received. The Jew just referred to kept an account of this kind, and the páshá, his master, had every confidence in his integrity and honesty, and, in short, intrusted him with all his money transactions. Dervish Páshá having begun to build a palace, the outlay was wholly left to the management of this agent. When it was nearly finished, he asked the Jew, his factor, for an account of the expenditure, which was instantly put into his hand. The páshá, on looking over the various items, perceived that a very large sum had already been expended, and remarked with astonishment, knitting his brows, that such was the case, for he was an avaricious, regardless, fraudulent man.

The Jew, conscious of his own honesty, and that he had acted according to the rules which had been prescribed for his conduct, became greatly enraged, especially when he perceived that the páshá was seeking his ruin, and therefore he at once hit on the following cunning stratagem by which he might be revenged on his unjust master. He took back the statement of accounts, and, in the presence of the páshá, tore it in pieces and threw it into the fire, saying, it was not with a view of robbing his master that he kept a statement of the outlay, for the whole belonged to him, whose servant he was. "Is it not well known to you," added he, "that whatever I may have gained by acting as your factor, I have not appropriated the least part of it to my own use? Nevertheless, if you inquire what has been expended, the answer is easy: I have kept a statement of the expenses, but the páshá has deceived himself, and has been negligent." The foolish but avaricious páshá believed the Jew and dismissed him, but the Jew had not yet done with him. He instantly set about laying a stratagem, as already hinted, for ensnaring his obnoxious master. In order to accomplish this, he instructed some labourers, who were employed at the páshá's palace, to dig, by night, underneath the ground, a passage from the páshá's palace to the wall of the imperial treasury. And although several men were employed, during the night, in digging out this subterraneous passage, yet none, except those in the secret, were aware of it. When the mouth of the passage was finished, he caused them to build it up with stones, and then ordered them to retire. The malicious Jew, after having succeeded thus far in his mischievous plan, entered into a secret alliance with the kapú ághá, a collector of taxes, and an enemy to Dervish Páshá, to whom he communicated the whole secret, and whom, by making him splendid presents, he gained to act along with him in the sequel of this mystery. The Jew, after this, wrote a letter to the kapú ághá, wherein he secretly, as it were, accused the páshá of dishonest practices, and described to him the subterraneous passage above-mentioned. The kapú ághá informed his majesty of the fact; and he, believing the account to be correct, especially when he considered the numerous complaints which had already been lodged against the páshá, was roused to indignation against his treacherous and deceitful minister, and caused him to be slain.



A very short time before this tragical event, a tax of a thousand akchas for each of the palaces in Constantinople was ordered to be levied upon the inhabitants, but which the death of Dervîsh Pâshâ fortunately saved them from paying, and for which they were most thankful.

Dervîsh Pâshâ perished about the commencement of Shaban, and on the 10th of the same month, Sinâ-allah Effendî, after mature deliberation, recommended the celebrated Murâd Pâshâ for the office of grand vezîr, who, in consequence of this, was immediately recalled from Belgrade to the Sublime Porte.

The following is a copy of the letter which the emperor sent him on that occasion.

“ Murâd Pâshâ, thou art my vezîr. Without the advice or persuasion of any one, but by our own special royal will, we have thought fit to confer on you the grand vezîrship, and have sent you the imperial seals. It is hoped the Divine Majesty will assist you and further you in your labours. We shall carefully attend to the endeavours you make in every department. You will, therefore, be solicitous to come to our sublime city.”

Murâd Pâshâ, at the time he was thus honoured, was busily engaged in carrying on negociations for a final peace with Austria, the preliminaries of which had been entered into some time before. Several important personages who had an interest in the making of the treaty, on the part of Hungary, had been invited to Belgrade to consult with Murâd Pâshâ.

The time we are now speaking of was one of very great pressure and distraction to the vezîr, who found himself involved in pecuniary difficulties of no small moment; but by the kind intervention of Chelebî Effendî, cazî of Belgrade, who was become very rich, he was considerably relieved by a loan of two thousand pieces of gold. But yet such were the urgent demands made upon him that he found it beyond his powers to carry on the government. One day some of those soldiers who served for their food, were detected plundering some shops, and about fifty of them were publicly scourged before his own tent.

When the vezîr Murâd Pâshâ was raised to the dignity of grand vezîr, he did not forget the friendship and generosity of the reverend cazî, and even before he left Belgrade raised him to the cazîship of Aleppo.

*Peace concluded with Austria.*

When Lálá Mohammed Páshá was recalled to Constantinople, the power of concluding a peace with Austria, as well as the command of the army of the north, was committed to the vezír, Murád Páshá, who was sent off to the frontiers of Hungary immediately on his being chosen to succeed Lálá Mohammed. On reaching Buda he there assembled the troops who were to act under him, gave a favourable answer with respect to the conditions proposed by Austria, and nominated his son-in-law Kází Záhéh, Alí Páshá, beglerbeg of Buda, Habel Effendí, the cazí of that place, Nezir-ud-dín Záhéh Mustafá Effendí, a grandee of Buda, and Khádem Ahmed deputy to Alí Páshá, to proceed to the Straits of Sidova, somewhere between Komran and Osterghún, where they met the Austrian commissioners composed of German and Hungarian princes and ambassadors. Botchkai's consent and permission had been obtained. The Austrian commissioners were lodged on the north side of the Danube, and the Moslem commissioners at Osterghún.

On the 1st of Rajab, the commissioners, on both sides, embarked in boats on the Danube, and in the middle of that river, they, after some considerable debate, altercation, and warm contest, concluded a treaty of peace, the articles of which, we shall here insert. It is to be observed however that, according to the contract entered into with Botchkai, the whole of the Major nation was put under his jurisdiction, as were also the fortresses of Filk, Yanuk, and all the other places of strength. Matters remained in this state till the demise of the late grand vezír, Lálá Mohammed Páshá, when Botchkai ceased pressing his claims. Murád Páshá, therefore, met the wishes of the other contracting power, gave his consent to the treaty agreed on by the commissioners. The following, in substance, is a copy of the articles of that treaty. The Austrian commissioners, who were vested with full powers, say, in the document which they signed and presented to the Moslem commissioners, that they, in the name of Adolphus II., who, by the grace of God, is emperor of Alaman (Germany), Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, and of the maritime provinces, concluded a treaty of peace with the commissioners of his sublime majesty,

Sultán Ahmed Khán, for the space of twenty years. (Here the names of the Moslem commissioners are introduced, and are the same as those formerly mentioned.) The names of the Austrian commissioners are mentioned at the commencement of the above document, and are as follows:—Yanúsh Amoorlardi, councillor of state, governor of Komran, and captain of all the frontier troops; Adolphus Ehwalanjan, counsellor of state and commander-in-chief; Nicolas Ashtwan, kapúdán of the other side of the Danube; Francis Gusenlegan, kapúdán of this side of the Danube and counsellor of state; Claudius Rewaid, count of Farsewer.

*Article I.* That ambassadors of the emperor of Austria shall be permitted to proceed to the Sublime Porte, and that the correspondence between the court of Constantinople and that of Vienna be expressed in such friendly terms as a father writes to his son, or a son to a father.

*Article II.* That the Ottoman royal letters shall style the emperor of Austria, Roman Emperor; not king.

*Article III.* That when, by the grace of God, peace is once concluded, neither Tatar tribes, nor any other military force belonging to the Sublime Porte, shall commit any hostility against any of the territories belonging to the Roman emperor.

*Article IV.* That the territories belonging to the contracting powers, whether surrounded by water or not, shall not be injured by either party; that the villages on the confines of Hungary shall not be molested by the Osmánlis; that the king of Spain, if he agree to the treaty, shall also not be molested.

*Article V.* That all the inhabitants on the frontiers be prohibited from tresspassing on the confines of either party; that should any person, from either side, be guilty of the refraction of this article, and be seized, he shall be presented before the governor or kapúdán of that place, who shall make proper enquiry as to what he has been guilty of, and punish or acquit accordingly.

*Article VI.* No castle or fortress, during the peace, shall be plundered, attacked, nor taken by any stratagem. If any one of the fortresses be taken

by fraud or craft, it shall be restored. Those places given to Botchkai shall remain as they were fixed at Vienna.

*Article VII.* All captives taken before the peace shall be set at liberty for the ransom that may be stipulated : such as are not ransomed shall be exchanged for other captives ; and no captives shall be taken after the ratification of this treaty. If by any means any captive be taken, the party who took him shall liberate him gratis. The contracting powers agree, that persons who shall be convicted of seizing captives shall be punished by the government to which they belong.

*Article VIII.* If any of the inhabitants of Temisvar, of Bosnia, of Agria, or of Kaniza, offend against this treaty, information must be given to their respective governors ; and in the event of such offenders not being punished, the beglerbeg of Buda, who shall be appointed superintendent of all these districts, shall be requested to see justice fairly administered. In like manner must the governor of Yanuk, the kapúdán on this side (the Ottoman side), and the banis of Croatia be instructed to see this treaty respected.

*Article IX.* The fortresses belonging to both the contracting powers may be repaired ; but no new fortress or palanka shall be erected on the frontiers of either country.

*Article X.* As to the two hundred thousand dollars promised to his Sublime Majesty by this treaty, it is stipulated, that so soon as the imperial ambassador shall have arrived with this sum at Constantinople, the exalted serdár shall send a Sanjak prince with a present suitable to the dignity of the Ottoman court to give to the duke. When the royal presents destined for the Ottoman sultán shall have arrived, the sultán shall return a gift of greater magnitude than usual to the Roman emperor.

*Article XI.* The Austrian ambassador shall proceed at once to Constantinople with the stipulated sum of money and the royal presents.

*Article XII.* The peace now concluded shall continue to be maintained for the space of twenty years, commencing from the 1st of the thousand and fifteenth Rajab (*i. e.* from 1st of Rajab 1015) of the Mohammedan era, which is the 1600th of the Christian era : but no more presents than those

now mentioned shall be sent for the space of three years. Whatever presents may be thought necessary to be sent after these three years are expired, shall remain undetermined. If during the term of this peace the emperor of the Moslems, or the emperor of Austria, or the king of Hungary, should depart this life, their sons, successors, and relations shall be bound to respect the articles of this treaty, and not to violate the peace on any account.

*Article XIII.* The palanka of Waj shall remain in its present (dilapidated) condition, and shall not be enlarged.

*Article XIV.* When the Austrian ambassadors arrive at Constantinople they shall be allowed whatever they may stand in need of.

*Article XV.* The villages which paid tribute or taxes before the reduction of Agria (*i. e.* the villages of that district) shall continue to pay the same still.

*Article XVI.* Those villages which belonged to Filk, Sichan, and Novo-grade, but now connected with Agria, Khutwan, Buda, and Osterghún, shall pay their accustomed dues.

*Article XVII.* Those villages which were accustomed to pay taxes when Osterghún fell into the hands of the Austrian emperor shall still continue to pay him their dues as formerly. All the other villages on the frontiers shall continue to pay their usual taxes to whichever government they may belong. In consequence of the unsettled state of the district of Kaniza, a person shall be nominated by the Moslem government, who, along with Bíkám Oghlí, shall make enquiry into the state of matters, and determine which of the villages of that district belong to Kaniza, and which not; when their taxes shall be regulated according to what is right.

#### *Concerning Nesúh Páshá.*

On the 4th of Moharrem in this year, Nesúh Páshá, who, by the instrumentality of the late grand vezír, Mohammed Páshá, had been appointed to the government of Baghdad, went to take possession of his new government. On reaching the Euphrates he learned, that Píáleh Páshá, the deposed governor of Bassora, had succeeded in gaining the good-will of the people of Baghdad, and that by means of flattery and promises he had

secured the affections of the soldiery. He also received intelligence concerning the rebel Mohammed, son of Túyel Ahmed Oghlí, who had been *válí* of Irák. The beglerbeg of Wærka, Mír Sheríf, whom Nesúh met on his march to Baghdad, showed him much respect, and promised him his support. Nesúh was furnished with letters and robes of honour to Seyed Khán Beg, one of those Kurd princes who, before Nesúh's time, had come on business to Baghdad: also to the begs of Sehran, and to Obrish Oghlí Emir Ahmed, an Arab prince. These letters enjoined the several parties above specified, in the most flattering manner, to attach themselves without delay to the interests of Nesúh Páshá, the emperor's commander-in-chief, and to proceed with him to Baghdad then in the hands of the rebels.

Obrish Oghlí, and the other chiefs, sent the commander-in-chief deceitful answers; and after waiting at Mosul for nearly six weeks for their arrival, he found at last that he had been duped by their fraud. To add to his distress, he found also, that the letter which he had sent off to Seyed Khán had been intercepted, and that the rebels were thus apprized of his march upon Baghdad.

It may be proper to observe, however, that before the imperial letters above alluded to arrived, the *Válí Páshá*, *Páleh Páshá*, and *Emír Sheríf Páshá*, had advanced as far as Arabel, whence they wrote to Seyed Khán, and to the emírs of Seheran to join them, but without any good result. The Turkoman tribe, however, which for some insignificant advantage had been tempted to revolt, joined the rebels. Upon this, and trusting to the promises of Abúrish Oghlí, they entered the city of Baghdad on the 3d of Shaban, the very day fixed on by him, but they neither heard nor saw any thing of him. The Kurds and Arabian insurgents, who had been sent by Arazil and Abúrish Oghlí, and who now supported Túyel Oghlí in his rebellion, also entered Baghdad, and prepared for resistance. Túyel, it would appear, had secretly succeeded, by means of 30,000 ducats, in bribing a number of faithless mercenaries, who served in the army under Nesúh. Túyel, in consequence of the success his bribery had met with, ventured out of the city and offered battle to Nesúh. At the commencement of this engagement, the superiority of Nesúh's troops over their adversaries seemed evident; but a body of the mercenaries who had been

bribed joining the insurgents, the remainder of the army fled from the field. This catastrophe was attended with terrible consequences to Nesúh; yet although his army, by this revolt, was considerably weakened, he nevertheless, with Váli Páshá, Píáleh Páshá, and Mír Sherif, fought with unparalleled bravery. Váli Páshá fell on the field of battle, and Nesúh was wounded in two places. A considerable number of brave soldiers who fought under the banner of Nesúh, besides many princes who had attended Mír Sherif, also died martyrs in this bloody contest. Nesúh and Mír Sherif however, when they perceived the battle turning against them, succeeded in getting their fighting Muselmans to retire from the unequal conflict. Nesúh retreated to an island which belonged to Mír Sherif, where he remained until the severe cold weather set in, and thence he sent a report of his misfortunes to the court of Constantinople. Túyel, not long after this victory which he had gained, was murdered in the city of Baghdad.

#### *Death of Botchkai.*

Petrus, the pope's legate in Hungary, and Arúmendi, Botchkai's intimate friend, informed the court of Constantinople that King Botchkai Ashetwan had departed this life on the 5th of Ramazan. Some time before his death he summoned to his presence the two above-mentioned persons, and nominated as his successor his sister's son-in-law, his own vezír, the bravest prince that was in Hungary, one Hemon; and whose name had been inserted in the contract between Botchkai and the Ottoman government as the successor of Botchkai to the crown of Transylvania. Hemon having been raised to the throne of Transylvania, as now described, the Sublime Porte sent him a robe of honour lined with wolf-skin, and a sanjak, as tokens of esteem. This Hemon, called also Hemon Baturi, was a descendant of the ancient kings of Transylvania, and on this account was chosen successor to Botchkai.

#### *Other events of the current year.*

On the night of the 4th of Moharrem a destructive fire broke out in the Jewish quarter of the city: the desolating element reaching as far as Khoaja



Páshá's bath, and Khoaja's academy, and destroying squares and streets in its progress. The damage which this fire occasioned was immense.

On the 27th of the month Gúrjî, Mohammed Páshá, lately removed from the government of Egypt, was appointed to the government of Bosnia; and the government of Kaniza was conferred on Aghá Khosrú Páshá. On the 11th of Rabia II., in consequence of the rebel Kalandar Oghlí having gone to the vicinity of Kewah, all the cavalry, Chashingírs and Chavushes, who had any property in that quarter, were ordered to repair thither. On the 16th of Jemadi I. the government received information that the insurgent Jánbúlát had suddenly fallen on the governor of Aleppo, Hasan Páshá, brother to Tarnakjî, and had slain him. On the same day intelligence was also received that Ali Páshá, the son of the same Jánbúlát, who had raised the standard of rebellion in the jurisdiction of Aleppo, had fought and overcome in battle Emír Seif Oghlí, beglerbeg of Tripoli, in Syria, who had been obliged to take refuge in that city. On the 21st, the master of the horse, Ja'fer Aghá, having been appointed governor of Ethiopia, his predecessor was removed to Yemen, where he succeeded Sinán Páshá, who had been ordered to return to Turkey. On the 18th of Ramazan, Kalandar Oghlí, with the rebels under his command, most completely overthrew and defeated Hasan Páshá, beglerbeg of Anatolia; also Ahmed, the former governor of that province, and the beg of Sarukhán, Hají Beg, in the neighbourhood of Sarúkhan. Kalandar Oghlí, after having obtained this decisive victory, threatened to attack Magnesia, and it was, therefore, found necessary to strengthen Brúsa. On the third of Dhu'l hijja, several of the youths attached to the royal house were promoted to offices of honour, according to the usual rule. A number of other promotions and changes took place, but they are not worth while mentioning.

#### EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1016, H.

*The grand vezír, Murád Páshá, returns to court.*

Murád Páshá, after the peace between Turkey and Austria was fully settled and agreed to, enjoyed, at Belgrade, some degree of quiet and tranquillity, until he was suddenly recalled to court. The official messenger

who had carried to Murád Páshá the emperor's orders, no sooner arrived at the place of his destination, than Murád Páshá, along with the Austrian ambassadors, who had carried with them thither the sum of money stipulated by the treaty of peace, set out in the greatest haste for the Sublime Porte, where they arrived about the end of Moharrem.

Not long after his arrival in the metropolis, it was resolved, in consequence of the harrassing state of the eastern provinces and the continued aggressions of the Persians, that the grand vezír, Murád Páshá, should be sent with a splendid army to bring the countries of the east into a state of tranquillity and subordination, and to act against the Persians.

In consequence of the long-continued war which the Ottomans had been obliged to carry on against the northern infidels, and which drained to so great a degree the military resources of the empire, the inland provinces were, in a manner, left destitute of sufficient military force to preserve them quiet and peaceable. Anátolia, when thus freed of the presence of the military, became much disturbed by every kind of faction, rebellion, and insubordination: each faction had its own leader or chieftain. They procured supplies of arms, formed themselves into companies of foot and horse, and presented every where a most formidable appearance.

One of the leaders of these rebels was Abdul helím, better known by the name of Karah Yáziji (usually called Scrivano), who was at one time in the suite of the governor of the province. At first he was only segbán, but afterwards he became súbáshlik. The discontented portion of the inhabitants of Anátolia chose this man for their chieftain, who, by his wicked devices, soon brought the whole country into a state of insubordination and violence. In 1009 he pillaged and sacked the countries of Chorum, Sívás, and Tokát. Sometimes victorious, sometimes defeated, he was, at last, obliged to betake himself to the mountains of Jánbeg.

Another of these rebel-chiefs was one Hasan Páshá. Being governor of the province, his cruelty, oppression, and injustice became so intolerable, that he was necessitated, for the safety of his life, to take flight. He joined the infamous Scrivano at the moment he was beset in the fortress of Ráh, and effected his deliverance, but he himself being taken, was delivered

over to the Moslem commander, who sent him to Constantinople, where he suffered the punishment deserved by his crimes.

His brother, Delí Hasan, was another of these rebel-chiefs. He followed in the footsteps of Scrivano, and was murdered, as the reader may remember, when on his way from Temisvar to Belgrade.

Kalander Oghlí, called also Mohammed, likewise headed the revolt. He was at first in the service of some of the beglerbegs, and afterwards a lieutenant to a great man who had employed him. When Jeghala Zádéh was commander-in-chief in the east, Kalander Oghlí insinuated himself, in some way or other, into his favour, from which he received some benefit. In 1013 he collected a number of rebels and became their chief. Being bold and intrepid as well as wicked, he committed very serious evils; but we shall afterwards have to advert to his history.

Another of these malignants was one Karah Seyed, a wretch who was so thoroughly embued with evil qualities, as to be an object of general detestation and hatred. The miseries, murders, and spoliation which this fiend committed were horrible. He joined his fortunes with those of Kalander; but placing confidence in him was like placing confidence in a mud-wall.

The next of these villains that we shall notice are Túyel and Yúsuf Pashá, who, like those already mentioned, met with the fate they deserved. The greater number of those who had been engaged in the recent and former rebellions were either killed or dispersed, or perished in some other way. The most infamous of those who still remained in open rebellion were Alí Beg, son of Jánbulát, and Kalander Oghlí; but Murád Pashá was preparing to chastise them.

*Murád Pashá gains a victory over the rebels.*

The grand vezír, Murád Pashá, no sooner returned to Constantinople, than he commenced preparations for the war in the east. On the 19th of the 1016th Sefer (*i. e.* on the 19th of the month Sefer of this year) he passed over to Scutari, and on the 7th of Rabia I. he marched direct towards Aleppo. The beglerbegship of Romeili was conferred on Tarnákjı

Hasan Páshá, and that of Anatolia on Marjol Hasan Páshá. Khalil Aghá, colonel of the janissaries, was appointed chief herald. Báki Páshá was made treasurer for the army, and the dignity of káimakám was conferred on Mustafa Páshá, of the garrison of Brúsa, who took possession of his new office on the 22d of the month Sefer.

When the serdár, Murád Páshá, conspicuous in dignity, reached Iconium, Kalander Oghlí, who on two former occasions had opposed and defeated two páshás, and who had spread the most terrible consternation throughout the country, hearing of Murád's march on Iconium, determined to fall upon Ancora, the inhabitants of which had done him considerable injury. Thinking this was the best time to be revenged on them, he left Sarúkhán and directed his movements towards Ancora.

In the meantime, however, Murád, after a few days' rest at Iconium, made some new arrangements. He appointed Bába Akhí Zádeh, who was orthodox in his views and sentiments, to the high-priest's office, which happened at that time to be vacant. A considerable number of the inhabitants, who had been active in the rebellion, he caused to be executed; and filled the wells of Iconium with their vile bodies. One of those who suffered death on that occasion was a cursed heretic of the name of Ahmed Beg. Murád Páshá also crucified a man named Mustafa, stabbed the deputy-governor, when Abdurrahmán was cazí of Iconium, burned the palace of Delí Ahmed, the governor of Caramania, the owner of it losing his life in the flames, and put to the sword more than a thousand souls, who had either been infected with heresy, or who had taken part in the rebellion. In short, Murád Páshá marched about in the character of a prince, and put to death whomever he pleased. When this Ahmed Beg, the scourge of the whole country, was brought before this deep-discerning commander, the páshá thus addressed him: "I am about leaving you at Iconium till my return from taking vengeance on the son of Jánbulát: guard the city and keep a good look out. But should you require aid for this purpose, what number of men do you think you could muster?" The fearless wretch replied, "thirty thousand at least." The commander expressed, though feignedly, his approbation, and dismissed him: but in an oration to those who, it would seem, had pleaded in his behalf, he observed

that to leave alive upon the earth a man, who, in his absence, could raise thirty thousand men, and to permit him to have the power of fortifying the city against him, would not be acting wisely. In this way, and by these arguments, he put to silence the friends and advocates of Ahmed Beg; and shortly afterwards, caused him to be strangled, and his carcass thrown into a well.

*Ebn Kalander goes to Ancora.*

Kalander Oghlí, well knowing that to encounter the serdár would be his certain destruction, retired, as we have already seen, towards Ancora. On his march to this place he picked up all the cattle and horses which fell in his way, and passed by the confines of Caramania, plundering and robbing every town and village through which he marched. On approaching Ancora he forwarded a messenger to announce his arrival, as if he had been commissioned by royal authority.

In the city of Ancora there lived, at that time, one Ahmed Effendí Zadéh Waldin, who had been present in the royal camp during the war that was carried on against Hungary; and who, from the high opinion entertained of his abilities, was appointed cazí of Ancora, with the view of seeing its unfinished fortifications completed, and of preserving the place against the aggressions of the rebels. When the above messenger, accompanied by four hundred men, presented himself before the city, this judge of the law proposed answering him thus: that it was unlawful to permit an armed troop of criminals to enter the city; that the gates must not be opened to them; and that if it should be necessary to act on the defensive, they would sooner fight than allow them entrance. This decisive method of answering the intruders was not only approved of by the rest of the citizens, but communicated by them to the messengers, who carried it to Kalander. This information enraged him greatly, but he soon hit on a stratagem which he put into practice. He appeared before the walls of the city, and sending a messenger, with conditions of peace, requested the judge of the law to come out and confer with him on certain points; intimating, at the same time, that he would be entirely swayed by the judgment of the reverend Effendí. The judge prepared himself, and came forth with a

certain number of horsemen, to meet his opponent, who was attended by his suite; and both, sitting on horseback, entered into close conversation. Kalander commenced thus: "The emperor has assigned to me, in perpetual possession, this province, and has given the adjacent sanjaks to my followers. Why have you declined receiving us into the city? Why have you shut its gates against my herald?" The judge boldly replied, "If this country be conferred on you, as you say, why are you not come with the royal standard unfurled? You have the appearance of a band of robbers. You have trampled down the corn-fields belonging to the Muselmans; you have violently carried away the property of the country; you have driven your cattle into our corn-fields. The eyes of the citizens are afraid to dwell upon public robbers; and their hearts failed them when they heard of your approach. This, then, is the reason why they have shut their gates against your herald. They were alarmed, lest, as soon as you should enter, you would commence the work of cruelty, robbery, and death; but now that you have exhibited the royal pleasure, we are your servants. Therefore, we request that you draw out a list of what you deem necessary, and send it to us by faithful men. But, in order that you may tranquillize the fears of the citizens, it will be proper for you to retire to some considerable distance from their view. When they perceive your peaceful conduct, I shall not fail to do what I can to interest the people of the city in your behalf; then I shall come forth to you into our own camp, and learn from you what honours you will confer on me, in return: as soon as the people are quieted you may enter the city."

This seemingly gracious reception so intoxicated Kalander and his followers, that about thirty of these wretches, accompanied by their chief's deputy, actually went into the city and delivered to the judge a list of such things as they principally required—such as trowsers, coats, and other articles. Whilst they were waiting a few days for the articles in question, Kalander's deputy began to discover the villany of his base nature. In fact, he was hardly two days in the city when he began to lay his hands on the beautiful young females he saw, which exasperated the people to such a degree that they were on the point of murdering him. The judge, at the moment they were about to take summary vengeance on the wretch, inter-

ferred and restrained their fury, by representing to them that by their acting in such a manner they would endanger the lives of other Muselmans as well as their own. Under the pretext, therefore, of delivering the audacious wretch out of their hands, he thrust him into prison in the inner fortress. His companions he distributed among different families in the character of guests, as they supposed, where he told them they would receive the rights of hospitality, and where they would be protected from insult in case of any tumult arising. The cazí, in this way, got them all safely lodged within the citadel, and not one of them was able to make his escape.

During this interval, Kalander was impatiently waiting for the return of his men; but he little knew the person he had to deal with. The reverend judge had no sooner secured his prize, than he wrote off an account of the whole affair to Murád Páshá, who, in return, congratulated his correspondent on his adroitness and success; and informed him, by letter, that an army would soon be in pursuit of his visitors, cautioning him, at the same time, to be on the look out. The person who had the charge of this letter was way-laid and intercepted, by which means Kalander became acquainted with the whole of the mystery. He now perceived the design of the cazí, and determined on attacking the city: but he was just as little aware of the heroism and skill in war which Cazí Effendí, the son of Waldin, possessed, as he before was of his powers of stratagem. The citizens too were not without spirit. They formed themselves into regular companies, and fell with ardour on their assailants, maintaining the struggle with desperate heroism, and hurling defiance at Kalander, who made no less than eight different assaults, so intent was he on reducing the Ancorians. But the showers of musket and cannon-shot from the batteries made such havoc among this besieging horde as both cooled and repelled them, until at last they seemed to have given up all idea of success. At this moment it began to be rumoured that a body of troops, under the command of Tekelí, Mohammed Páshá, was marching on Ancora, which rumour induced the besiegers to retire to the distance of one stage. Tekelí, it would appear, had some little skirmishes with these rebels, but their numbers were so very superior to those under his command, that he chose rather to hasten into the city than to risk any general engagement.



It was not long after these things, that Tekelí was put in possession of the sanják of Komstamúní, when he pursued Kalander Oghlí with additional forces, and forty pieces of cannon.

The commander-in-chief having determined on the total destruction of Jánbúlát, seems, for the time, to have overlooked the rebel Kalander. He removed his troops from Iconium; and marching towards Aleppo, where Jánbúlát then was, he encamped before the city of Larendo; whence he dispatched the regiments of the red and yellow standards, under their respective leaders, and a body of janissaries to Selukeh, in Syria, with orders to destroy Meseli Chavush, a powerful and noted rebel in that quarter. This expedition, on reaching its destination, found the rebel had taken refuge in the mountains, and had there fortified himself. The ardent and zealous Moslem troops, however, pursued him even into his strong-holds, one or two of which they took, slaying all his followers that fell in their way, and dispersing the remainder. A few of the principal leaders, who had acted among the insurgents, were seized and sent to the commander-in-chief.

The exalted serdár, bent on falling in with Jánbúlát, removed from Larendo and came to Arkalah, where he found himself opposed by Jemshíd, another of the rebel chieftains, from the neighbourhood of Adna, and who scrupled not to give battle to the royal troops. He and his rebel army, however, were soon broken and overthrown. He himself escaped by flight, but his deluded followers were either destroyed or made prisoners. Such of them as were taken alive were conducted into the presence of the serdár, and there ordered to be beheaded.

When the grand vezír, Murád Páshá, reached the confines of Aleppo, he was there informed, just as he was on the eve of approaching the pass of Bukras, that Jánbúlát, with twenty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, was strongly entrenched within this pass. The exalted serdár, on hearing this report, changed his route, and went forward to the plains of Gozarjinlik. This movement he effected on 29th of Jemadi II. The royal camp was joined at this place by the beglerbeg of Mercesh, Zulfekár Páshá, with a powerful auxiliary army. In three days afterwards he removed his camp to Durma, on the river Kunuk. Jánbúlát Oghlí, on learning that the Moslem army had passed on to Durma, left his position; and,

on the 2d of Rajab, marched with his army of forty thousand half the distance, intent on giving battle to the serdár, and encamped in the valley of Uruj. The advance guards of both armies met, and a sharp skirmish took place; but that of the rebels was totally defeated; the greater part of them perished, and those who were made prisoners, being conducted into the presence of the serdár were, without mercy or compassion, instantly put to death.

The following day, Tuesday, in the morning, the grand vezír prepared for a general engagement, put his numerous troops in order, and then encouraged and fortified the hearts of his soldiers.

Jánbúlát, in like manner, prepared for the contest. He placed his deputy with a division of his rebellious troops, against the army of Anatolia, which formed the right wing of Murád: his segbáns he opposed to the Romeilian troops, which formed his left wing, and he himself took up his position immediately opposite the centre of the royal army.

It has been said, that Jánbúlát had written before this to the Moslem commander-in-chief offering to make peace, but that the latter did not believe him sincere. He even, whilst endeavouring to bring this about, stepped to the front of his army and forbade them to fight; but they, by oaths and curses, caused him to retire, and erected their banners. However these things might be, the battle commenced, and it was a bloody one. Zulfekár Páshá, beglerbeg of Mercæsh, fought with uncommon bravery, and caused the heads of the enemy to roll along the ground. Jánbúlát attacked the left wing of the royalists, composed of the Romeilian army commanded by its intrepid válí, Hasan Páshá, but was met with heroism, on the part of these troops, exceeding all imagination. The conflict was awful and bloody, and lasted till night. Twenty-six thousand heads were conveyed into the presence of the powerful Osmanlí chief, and heaped up before his pavilion: twenty persons were incessantly employed in cutting off the heads of the vast number of prisoners which were brought in alive. The janissaries, headed by their chief, as well as the other troops, distinguished themselves in the most brilliant manner on this occasion.

Jánbúlát, after this severe defeat, fled to Kilis. But finding it unsafe for him to remain there, he marched on to Aleppo, plundered the rich men of the

city, threw some of his troops into the citadel, and the following morning, as he was going out at the gate, to continue his flight—for such was the fear he was in, that he remained only one night at Aleppo—the women and children raised a tremendous hue and cry after him, loading him with anathemas, and covering him with dirt and mud. After he was once fairly out of their sight the inhabitants commenced a search after such of his followers as had hid themselves in the city, and succeeded in finding out and killing more than a thousand of these wretches before Murád Páshá arrived at Aleppo.

The day after the battle a council was held in the victorious and glorious pavilion, when the grandees of the army pressed in to congratulate their commander-in-chief.

It has been related that the son of Máin Fekhr-ud-dín had headed the sons of Gilibi and the Dirzi soldiery, and fought under Jánbulát in the above-mentioned battle. Fekhr-ud-dín fled to the fortress of Shukif, in the desert, where he shut himself up.

The exalted commander-in-chief, when on his march from the field of battle to Aleppo, touched at Kilis, where he seized on the whole of the property belonging to the last-mentioned rebel. On the 19th of Rajab he erected his pavilion in the Kokmaidán of Aleppo, whither all the great men of the city repaired in order to pay him their respects, and to congratulate him on his success against the rebels. Some few vile wretches, who had hitherto eluded detection, were now brought forth and executed. The few troops which Jánbulát had left in the citadel, after a day or two, offered to surrender. The officers were furnished with letters of protection, but the common soldiery, on coming out of the citadel, were all executed. The government of Aleppo was conferred on Dishleng Hasan Páshá, and the cazíship of the same on an old acquaintance of the cazí of the royal camp, Cheshmi Effendí. Hasan Páshá, válí of Romeili, having been advanced to the rank and dignity of a vezír, returned to Turkey, and Marjol Hasan Páshá succeeded him as válí of Romeili.

*Murád Páshá winters at Aleppo.—Troops are sent to Baghdád.*

The grand vezír, Murád Páshá, with the view of preserving the peace

and tranquillity of the country, determined on keeping a certain number of his best troops somewhere near Aleppo, where he himself resolved on passing the winter. Accordingly, the spáhís were sent into the territories of Damascus, and the Salihdars to Tripoli, in Syria. The janissaries remained with the commander-in-chief at Aleppo, and the troops of Romeili, of Anatolia, and of Caramania were allowed to return to their respective countries.

In Aleppo the serdár and his janissaries spent the six months of winter in every sort of pleasure and festivity. Rebels, from one hundred to two hundred, were every day brought to Aleppo and there executed without compassion or commiseration.

The grand vezír, Murád Páshá, in the midst of the various scenes of pleasure which Aleppo afforded, was one day astounded at learning that about the time he had entered into winter quarters, Mustafa, the brother of Ahmed Túyel Oghlí, who had met with his death at Baghdád, had succeeded the deceased in the command of the rebels in that quarter, and who amounted to several thousands. Murád Páshá was not long in considering how to act: he determined on their overthrow. Accordingly, he conferred the government of Baghdád on Mohammed Páshá, son of Jeghala Zádeh Sinán Páshá, giving him a body of paid troops; and he appointed Mír Ahmed, son of Abúrish, prince of Annet and Hadisá, and Kúrd Mír Sherif Pásha, besides several other provincial lords, to accompany him to the conquest of Baghdád, now in the hands of the rebels.

The expedition just mentioned had no sooner arrived within a small distance of Baghdád than they were met by Mustafa, who had prepared to oppose the Moslem army. This happened on the 1st of Shevál; but Mustafa, who had not rightly estimated the courage and heroism of the Osmánli troops, found, to his sad experience, that he and his rebels were no match for them; in a word, he was defeated and routed, and shut himself up in the city, thinking there to defend himself. This, however, was a delusion. The heroic Osmánlis were not long in approaching and laying siege to the city, and perceiving that resistance would be worse than useless, he proposed to deliver up the city on the condition of personal security. This was agreed to, and he was allowed to embark; but the boat into which he

had entered had no sooner moved away from the bank or wharf than, from its unequal weight, occasioned by the vast numbers of segbáns who had crowded in along with him, it upset, and all, with the exception of Mustafa himself and a few others, were drowned in the river; even those few who did escape were nearly all killed by bullets which were sent across after them. Mohammed Páshá, after having thus vanquished the rebels and dispersed them, entered into Baghdád triumphant and victorious.

*Jánbulát Oghlí seeks refuge in Constantinople.—Kalander commits new depredations.*

Kalander Oghlí, after having sustained the defeats and disappointments formerly mentioned, and knowing that Murád Páshá had passed on to Aleppo, again resolved on mischief. After leaving Ancora, finding himself kept in awe by Tekelí, he passed into Anatolia, and proceeded to the neighbourhood of Brúsa. Here he was joined by Kanalı Oghlí, the chief of a sanják in that country, a disaffected villain, with a number of others of similar character, amounting to very near a thousand; and here he again commenced his usual depredations.

Jánbulát Oghlí Alí Páshá, of whose history and fortunes we have already spoken, finding nowhere any asylum to which he might flee for safety, took his winding-sheet on his shoulders, as it were, and resolved on returning to Turkey. With this view he went to the vicinity of Eskí-sheher with a certain number of volunteers, whence he sent a humble letter by one Haidar Beg, his fraternal uncle, to the court of Constantinople.

About the time Jánbulát Oghlí came into the vicinity of Brúsa, Kalander Oghlí sent some of his principal adherents to meet him, and to assure him that he also had repented, and inviting him to come and take counsel with him, and proceed together in company. Jánbulát Oghlí accepted of the invitation and went; but Kalander Oghlí had changed his tone and said, "Do not you separate from me, and you shall see me take ample revenge on our opponents: this is the very moment for accomplishing it." Jánbulát Oghlí, not relishing the views and intentions of his entertainer, purposed with himself to escape secretly from him; and with this view he one night cut a hole in the wall of the apartment in which he lodged, and

getting out, hastened off with all dispatch towards Constantinople, taking only a few of his nearest relations along with him. More disaffected fellows, who had accompanied him to Brúsa, joined themselves, when they found he had absconded, to the infamous Kalander Oghlí, who, when he first went to that quarter, found himself surrounded with serious difficulties. Having been thus strengthened, however, by the levends who had accompanied Jánbulát Oghlí, he marched on Brúsa, to which he set fire, and robbed and spoiled several other places besides. This daring robber, however, was soon obliged to decamp. Nukásh Hasan Páshá, with a body of troops, was ordered to attack him on one side, and vezír Yusuf Páshá to do the same on the other. But he did not wait their arrival. On leaving Brúsa he set out towards Mikhalij, and continued his route till he was opposed by the Lake of Ulú-ábád. This lake is surrounded on the south by very steep rocks, which extend northwards, along the river, to the Mediterranean Sea. The infamous robber, on approaching this lake, perceived that it formed the natural boundary between Brúsa and the countries of Mikhalij, Garem-asta, and Pighala. At the foot of this lake was an ancient bridge, which was the only passage by which the rebel could cross. On the opposite side, however, there was a fortified castle; but how to get across the bridge with safety to himself and followers, and make his way to a narrow gap which he knew to exist somewhere in the mountains or range of rocks on the south of the lake or river, was to him the subject of the utmost concern. He prepared, however, to take it at all hazard; but finding the castle was in the hands of the people of Garem-asta, his courage failed him, and without attempting any farther the execution of his plan, he proceeded to a place in the neighbourhood called Chatalú, where he remained till the commencement of the feast which follows the Mohammedan lent: when, as he thought, he might succeed better. On the arrival of this festival, the garrison, intent on celebrating it, began to do so on the first evening, and left the castle exposed and defenceless. The villain taking advantage of this neglect on the part of the garrison, crossed the bridge, and entered the country of Garem-asta, where he unfurled the standard of rebellion, traversed the country, and took possession of the town of Mikhalij. His pursuers, at least one of them, Nukásh Hasan

Páshá, following hard after him, reached Ulú-ábád, where he encamped. The rebel and his followers no sooner discovered this to be the case, than they fell back upon the bridge by which they had passed in the manner described, and effectually prevented Nukásh from crossing. The rebels took good care not to disturb any of the towns and villages in this neighbourhood: they were therefore all quiet, and took no part against them; and winter coming on, Nukásh, on account of its severity, was unable to act against them.

In the meantime, a reinforcement under the command of the governor of Silistria was sent off to join the dispirited Nukásh. The rebels met this reinforcement at Gunan, where they gave them battle. In this engagement, Ahmed Páshá, governor of Silistria, fought with such ardent and daring bravery, that there was not a part of his body which remained unhurt, and he was, at last, obliged to be carried from the field of battle, and soon afterwards he expired. The orthodox Moslems lost the day: and the victorious rebel-chief marched into the districts of Aydin and Sarúkhán, with fire and sword, and passed through Caramania, when he was joined by some of his former associates, who brought him a considerable increase of strength, and thus this detestable rebel, who but very lately had only a few followers, became now a most formidable enemy.

On the arrival of spring, the troops, who had been dispersed into winter-quarters, began to assemble at Aleppo, around their celebrated chief, Murád Páshá. As it was of the utmost importance that the treasurer, Etmekjí Zádeh Ahmed Páshá, who was to carry funds for the use of the army, should, for safety sake, accompany back the Romeilian troops, he was appointed to take the command of these troops, and to conduct them to Aleppo. The rebel, Kalander Oghlí, so lately victorious, was at this time in Caramania; and knowing that Etmekjí Zádeh was a person unskilled in war, he determined, as soon as he learned that he was on his way, to intercept him, and, if possible, seize the money he was carrying to the grand army. Etmekjí Zádeh was apprized, however, of his intentions, and sent the troops and the money by the way of Ancora; both of which reached the commander-in-chief in safety.



*Jánbulát Oghlí meets with a happy reverse of fortune.*

Jánbulát Oghlí, whom we lately spoke of as on his way to Constantinople, after having escaped the snares which the notorious Kalander Oghlí had laid for him, arrived at Bazarjik on the 9th of Ramazan. His uncle, Haidar Beg, and his deputy, Hasan, whom he had sent to the court of Constantinople with letters of submission, arrived there on the 21st of the same month, and soon afterwards appeared before the emperor, to whom they expressed themselves thus: "We are come to confess our misdeeds, and to receive the punishment due to them. Our lives are in your hand." Their crimes were forgiven, and Jánbulát Oghlí's deputy was sent back to his master with the emperor's letter of forbearance and grace; whilst his uncle, Haidar Beg, was allowed to remain in the metropolis. The bostánjí báhshí was sent back to Nicomedia with the galley in which he had brought Haidar Beg, to take in Jánbulát Oghlí, and convey him to Constantinople. It is remarkable that it was at the very time that this galley arrived at Nicomedia to receive Jánbulát Oghlí, that he had been inveigled by Kalander Oghlí. The bostánjí báhshí, not finding him at Nicomedia, and being anxious of discharging his duty, ignorant alike of what had become of him, and of the trap which had been laid for him, he and his bostánjís set out for Brúsa in search of him, where they met him as he was fleeing from Kalander Oghlí, from whose snares he had made his escape in the manner we have already described. His deputy advanced towards him, put his majesty's letter of clemency into his hand, when all of them proceeded to the galley, on board which they embarked, and reached Constantinople about the end of Ramazan. Jánbulát Oghlí, in conformity to the promise which had been given to him after he had been introduced into the royal presence, was again received into favour. He remained about a whole week in the imperial gardens, and went every day to converse with his majesty. Not long afterwards he was created beglerbeg of Temisvar, and sent off to take charge of his government. After having, for the space of two years, sustained this high rank and office, he began again to manifest the baseness of his nature. His innate scorpion-like disposition developed itself in the acts of tyranny and oppression which

he perpetrated on the inhabitants, whom he robbed and spoiled without mercy. The people seeing themselves thus subjected to this merciless plunderer, determined on ridding themselves of him, and raising a tumult, threatened to murder him. Alarmed by these symptoms of revenge, he fled to Belgrade, where he remained in prison till the grand vezír, Murád Páshá, returned to Constantinople, and sent orders to Cazi Zâdeh Ali Páshá, protector of the frontiers, to put him to death.

*Some more particulars belonging to this year.*

In the month of Sefer, the commandant of Brúsa, Mustafa Páshá, was called to fill the office of kaímakám in the city of Constantinople. On the 10th of Rabia II. Yemenlí Hâsan Páshá was removed from the government of Egypt, and returned with the fleet which conveyed the annual taxes. By the same conveyance also, seventeen begs and four beglerbegs, who had been removed from office by the advice of Mohammed Páshá, the váli of Egypt, arrived at Constantinople. Hasan Páshá, however, was again, in Jemadi II., reinstated in his vezírship, and died on the 9th of Rajáb. On the 11th of Sheval Nukâsh Hasan Páshá was appointed commandant of Brúsa (probably when he was sent after the notorious Kalandar Oghlí). On the 28th of this month, after having received the very distressing and afflicting intelligence of the progress and success of the insurgents, and of their having nearly reached Brúsa, a general council of the great men of the state was summoned for the purpose of consulting what methods ought to be adopted for stopping the further progress of the rebellion. It was immediately agreed to fortify Brúsa; and to send vezír Davúd Páshá to Nicomedia, and Khezer Páshá to Scutari, to see these places fortified also; and to which they repaired. On the 22d of Sheval, Hâfêz Ahmed Aghá, chief of the falconers, in consequence of the splendid talents he possessed, both as a man of science and a soldier, arrived at the dignity of becoming the emperor's favourite. This led to a vezírship, when he became lord high admiral, in room of the European, Ja'fer Páshá.

On the 16th of Dhu'l Kadah of this year, the khán of the Crimea, Ghâzî Gheráí, departed this life. The messengers who brought this intelligence to Constantinople informed the Ottoman government, that Toktamish

Gherái, the khán's son, had, in virtue of his deceased father's will, at least under this pretext, and without waiting for the sanction of the Turkish government, assumed the regal authority. This stretch of authority manifested by the presuming youth did not at all please the emperor, who, it would appear, intended to confer the khánship on Salámet Gherái. This Salámet Gherái was, at one time, the accomplice of Delí Hasan, of notorious memory, who although he repented, suffered four years' imprisonment in the fortress of Romeili. Out of this condition the emperor raised him, and now conferred on him the khánship of the Crimea, become vacant by the death of Ghazí Gherái. His brother, Kalkái Mohammed Gherái, who had been his fellow-prisoner, was also raised to a participation in the khánship, and both were sent off for the Crimea. On the 21st of this same month, after having kissed the emperor's hand, they commenced their journey : Salámet went by sea, and Kalkái by land.

Whilst Toktamish Gherái was waiting with anxiety for the return of the messengers from the Sublime Porte, who, he hoped, would bring him intimations of the emperor's approbation, his expectations were suddenly blasted by receiving, through some other channel, the unexpected news that his uncle, Salámet Gherái, had been declared his father's successor. Thinking to save his own life, he set out for Turkey, accompanied by his next eldest brother, Sefer Gherái. On passing the river Uzí, and arriving at Akkerman, he employed the utmost precaution to avoid falling in with Kalkái, who was travelling by land : yet notwithstanding all his watchfulness, he actually did meet with him, when instantly a combat ensued, in which encounter the followers of Toktamish were all dispersed. He himself, and his brother, fell into the hands of Kalkái, and were murdered, but not before they had slain a host of their antagonists.

Kalkái, pursuing his journey, arrived in the Crimea, and took possession of the high office assigned him ; but soon began to manifest symptoms of corruption most derogatory to his exalted station ; and for which Salámet Gherái meditated his death. Kalkái was some way or other informed of his brother's intentions, and, to escape what he had thus reason to fear, set out with his brother, Sháhin Gherái, to the Circassian country, where he wandered about as an outlaw, and where he was afterwards visited

by retributive justice for the murder of Toktamish : but we shall have to return to his history afterwards.

In the meantime, the new khán, Salámet Gherái, was not allowed to enjoy his elevation for any length of time, having been carried off by death. He was succeeded in the khánship by Jánbeg Gherái.

Hasan Beg Zádeh observes with respect to this portion of history, that it was no sooner known that Toktamish had usurped the regal dignity, than the admiral of the Crimean sea, Háfiz Ahmed Páshá, and the son of the emperor's tutor or chaplain, represented to his majesty, that Toktamish Gherái was not acceptable to the people, and that they wished Salámet Gherái to be made their khán. The pure and disinterested muftí, deceived by Etmekjí Zádeh, spoke to the emperor in favour of Ghází Gherái's son, Toktamish, and assured his majesty, that the Tátárs would not accept of Salámet Gherái as their khán. It turned out, however, that, after Salámet Gherái, accompanied by a cup-bearer, had arrived in the Crimea, and succeeded to the possession of the Tátár throne, without any opposition having been offered, the emperor, hearing of it, and urged by an imperfect judgment, contrary to every principle of rectitude, deprived the muftí, Siná-allah Effendí, of his high office, and gave it to Mohammed Effendí, a son of his own chaplain. This office continued long afterwards to be occupied by one of his sons.

*An ambassador arrives from Poland.—A former treaty is renewed.*

Zighmun (Sigismund), king of Poland, at this time sent an ambassador to Constantinople, with the view of negotiating a continuance of the friendly relation which had subsisted betwixt Turkey and Poland since the last treaty of peace, entered into during the reign of Sultán Mohammed Khán III. In this treaty it was stipulated, on the part of the Turkish government, that none of the countries over which Sigismund reigned should be invaded by either the grand sultán or the khán of the Crimea : and in like manner it was stipulated by Sigismund, that none of the princes under him, or any of his rebellious Cossaks, should ever transgress the Moslem boundaries. In conformity with the above treaty, it was now stipulated, that the king of Poland, after strict examination and search,

should return all the prisoners who had been taken during the interval of the peace, and that the Ottoman government should act in a similar way, by returning such of his infidel captives as the Ottomans had seized, to officers appointed by the king: that all traders, whether by sea or land, were to pay the accustomed dues in all such places as they should happen to visit: that Poland, according to ancient custom, was to continue to pay to the khán of the Tátárs what it was in the habit of paying: that when the khán and his Tátárs are required to join the Ottoman army, they shall not pass through any part of the dominions of Poland, but take some other way: that in the event of any foreign enemy attacking Poland, the Tátárs are, in such a case, to aid the King of Poland if required to do so: that the Walachian and Moldavian nations shall not make inroads on the frontiers of Poland: that the inspectors or commanders of ports and the collectors of the revenue in Silistria and Akkerman shall permit no traders or merchants, except those trading with both countries, to enter Poland by any of the above-mentioned places: that should any slave or captive be found in the possession of any of those traders, whether crossing or recrossing the frontiers, all such traders shall be deprived of them, and the captives or slaves shall be sent to the proper quarter: that all traders or merchants shall pay whatever lawful impost is or may be fixed on; but no tax shall be laid on the money or specie which they may have or bring along with them to either country: that though the dollar, bearing the impression of the lion, which is current in Poland, be less in weight than the proper standard, it shall still be received, and the loss arising from this circumstance shall be mutual: that the royal firmán shall prohibit the receiving of usury within the Ottoman empire in future, and ordain, moreover, that hereafter the standard of the dollar, for the purposes and advantage of trade, shall be of various values: that should any of the Polish merchants choose to set free any slave or slaves, by ransoming them with money, they may do so; but no Muselman shall be either bought or sold. All the above articles having been approved of by the emperor, were signed on the 20th of Rabia I. of this year.

## EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1017, H.

*The commander-in-chief, Murád Páshá, pursues Kalander Oghlí.*

On the return of spring, about the commencement of Moharrem, the commander-in-chief caused his tent to be erected outside of Aleppo, between the two gates called Bankúsa and Kizil, where it remained until towards the end of the month Sefer, and at which place the various corps assembled.

In relating the events of the last year we referred particularly to the turbulent state of Anatolia and Caramania, and we mentioned the names of the principal insurgent-chiefs who had every where committed deeds of violence and of oppression in those districts. Some of these chiefs, we saw, were reduced by the skilful management of Murád, and by promises of lucrative and honourable situations; some were slain, and some turned their arms against one another. The most formidable of these rebel-chiefs was Jánbulát Oghlí, whose history we have already related. There remained still, however, one or two others who had escaped the vengeance due to their misdeeds; these were Kalander Oghlí and Karah Seyed, his associate. Around the standards of these two rebels the followers of the other chiefs had rallied, and during the winter season ravaged the neighbourhood of Brúsa and Magnesia, perpetrating acts of cruelty and oppression wherever they went. We have before related the burning of Brúsa by Kalander Oghlí, and how he thought of intercepting Etmekjí Zádeh, who, he supposed, was carrying funds to the grand army under Murád. The number of infidels that had collected round him and Karah Seyed amounted to 30,000.

An account of their number and plans having been transmitted to the commander-in-chief, Murád Páshá, he, without waiting until the whole of his troops had joined his camp at Aleppo, removed from that place on the 1st of Rabia I. with the janissary and household troops, and marched towards Mercësh, where he was joined by the army of Egypt under the command of Kansú Beg. On arriving at the river Jeihún (Oxus or Bac-trus) he threw some bridges across it, by means of which he passed over with his army, and afterwards pitched his camp in the plains of Koksú,

where he was again joined by Emir Hasan, son of Yúsuf, son of Seif, who, besides his own soldiers, brought along with him the Syrian troops from Tripoli.

When Kalander Oghlí saw that Etmekjí Zádeh had escaped the snares he had laid for him, and that all hope of capturing the money, the great object of his heart, had failed, he and thirteen others of his associate rebel-chiefs, besides Karah Seyed, held a council in order to consider how they should act. "Without further delay," said the principal rebel-chiefs, "let us at once march against Murád Páshá, and should we happen to be successful in our attack upon him, and defeat the old man, all the country on this side of Scutari will be ours." This proposal, however, did not meet the approbation of Seyed Arab, one of their number, who said in reply, "The province of Anatolia is very extensive. If the Osmánlí serdár should come and attack us, it will be our wisdom to avoid coming in contact with him; for it would be most hazardous to venture a battle with him." This counsel of Seyed Arab was far from meeting with the concurrence of his associates, who were all bent on encountering the Osmánlí hero, for their cup of pride and arrogance was now full.

Mesli Chavush, who had been sent with a body of men from Larenda to oppose the rebels as formerly mentioned, but who had been unsuccessful, received a letter from Kalander Oghlí, proposing to Mesli Chavush that he should join him, and that they should unite their respective forces, and attack the Ottoman general. This letter was couched in the most friendly terms; but as a specimen of the vanity which the author of it possessed, we shall transcribe it verbatim. He begins: "The commencement of my transactions is known to the world. The Ottomans, by exciting rebellion and breaking treaties, have acquired a superiority, and therefore their arrogance has attained the very highest pitch. Inured, as they are, to the practice of open daylight tyranny and oppression, I have relinquished all connection with them. I despise their friendship, and have turned away my face from them. Having taken my measures, I entered into Mekhalij, Aydin, and Sarúkhán; I have ravaged and laid waste all these places, and am returned with immense spoil. Our numbers increased daily. When we went to Iconium, the beglerbeg of Caramania, Zulfekár Páshá, the



governor, shut himself up in the fortress, and permitted the whole country round to be plundered and ravaged, without once endeavouring to do any thing to save the property of the inhabitants. From Iconium we proceeded to Caramania, where we took up our residence. Had not the Osmánlís cut off all hope, these excesses had not taken place. After what has happened to Jánbulát Oghlí there is no submitting to them. By the help of God, I, and the numerous active and heroic veterans that accompany me, shall soon finish that old dotard (Murád Páshá). Should fortune declare against us, however, and he become victorious, why, even then, the fame of our deeds will sufficiently immortalize our names." Mesli, by this letter, was induced to associate his fortunes with this notorious rebel, and secretly entered into compact with him.

These secret transactions, however, being made known to the commander-in-chief Murád Páshá, he, in order to prevent the junction of these two robbers, gave Mesli the government of a sanják on the condition of his not accompanying him in the war. The emperor also, in a short time afterwards, sent him a promise of the government of the province of Caramania.

When Kalander Oghlí had learned that the Osmánli général had come half-way from Aleppo on his march against him, he harangued his rebel-troops thus: "The Osmánli general has no troops, except the Pretorian bands. They, too, in consequence of the hardships they have suffered from hunger and cold at Aleppo, are very much weakened. Moreover," continued he, "the whole of his treasures and the archives are in his train. Be courageous, therefore, and acquit yourselves like good soldiers, my brave companions. Fall on his camp with heroic ardour, and your fame will be remembered till the resurrection. By taking this step of intrepidity and boldness, which I recommend to you, you will put yourselves in possession of both arms and treasures." This speech had the effect intended. The spirit of his rebel army—amounting to twenty thousand foot and horse—was roused to thirst for the achievements held out to their view. They accordingly commenced their movements, traversed the country of Caramania, passed through gardens and corn-fields, robbed and plundered the Turkmans, and at length approached the plains of Koksú, where the Osmánli general was encamped. Murád Páshá, who had been watching

the movements of the rebels, was informed, by means of his spies, that Kalander Oghlí, with twenty thousand rebels, had made a considerable advance upon him with the intention of disputing with him the pass of Koksú, and of checking his progress. Murád made instant preparation for battle; but as the mouth of the pass of Koksú, to which the rebels, he was informed, were fast approaching, was still four stages distant from him; and as it was of the utmost importance to prevent the enemy from taking possession of it, he sent a few companies of musketeer janissaries and about thirty Chorbájís under the command of Delí Pírí Aghá, to take possession of it before the arrival of the rebels. They accomplished the journey in three days, and took up their position within the mouth of the pass. Murád erected his pavilion on a rising ground, whilst his pretorian bands extended their camp along its declivity: the troops of Egypt encamped in the plains to the left of the serdár, contiguous to the hill on which his tent was erected. On this hill also the whole of the baggage was properly disposed of: ditches, at proper distances, were cut, and filled with janissary troops; in short, all necessary means and precautions were taken.

In the meantime, the rebels advanced with the view of securing the pass of Koksú, but found they were too late, it being in possession of the janissaries under Delí Pírí, and, therefore, without attempting to dislodge them, they retired. Perceiving, however, the defensive aspect of the royalists, and their determination to fight, Kalander Oglí put his troops in order of battle, and prepared for the contest. Murád's van-guard acted rather precipitately on this occasion; for, before he had issued any order for commencing an attack, they, without waiting for advice, advanced and offered battle to the van-guard of the enemy, which immediately advanced in their turn to the bank of the river separating the two armies, where a very warm skirmish took place. The main body of the royalists remained on the hill or rising-ground on which they had encamped; and the enemy thinking that the Egyptian army, with which they were now contending, was the Osmánlí force that had accompanied the serdár, rushed forth in terrific numbers, and the assault became general. Murád putting his right and left wings into motion, gave the word of command, and, like the rush-

ing of a mighty torrent, descended from the hill into the field of battle. The right wing entered into close combat with the division under Karah Seyed, and the left with that under Kalander Oghlí himself. The battle now became general; they fought fiercely. The serdár's right wing, composed of the valiant spáhfs, and headed by the chief of Malatieh, Karah Kásh Ahmed Páshá, and the serdár's own deputy, Omar Ketkhodá, succeeded in completely routing the accursed wretches under Karah Seyed. The left wing composed of salihdárs and the troops from Tripoli, commanded by Mír Hasan, son of Seif, and the Egyptian troops, commanded by Kansú Beg, fought the rebels under Kalander Oghlí with such unparalleled bravery as made the very heavens reverberate with approbation and applause.

The ever-watchful commander-in-chief, perceiving that a detachment of the enemy had formed the design of seizing on his baggage, very opportunely sent a party of janissaries to the brow of the hill where it was stationed, who successfully repelled every attempt on that quarter. The enemy's squadrons, becoming desperate and furious with rage, exerted their utmost skill and force to cut down the Moslems who opposed them, but without much success. The commanding general now advanced a few paces, riding on his swift chestnut, and brought the whole of his disposable force to bear on these hateful devils; and calling to his assistance those troops he had sent to guard the baggage, in a short time the whole of the rebels were put to flight. Their defeat was most decisive. It has been said that a voice was heard in the rebel army which said, "for whom are you fighting? Murád Páshá has laid a stratagem for you. Zulfekár Páshá, with the army of Caramania has come by the way of the hills, and has seized on your camp." This report had the effect of hastening the flight, and served to give the Moslem army the superiority.

On the second day after the battle, the commanding general took up his position in that part of the field which had been the enemy's camp. Hasan Páshá, beglerbeg of Aleppo, was appointed to pursue the fugitive rebels with a detachment of troops. Mír Hasan Ebn Seif, with his Malatian soldiers, Karah Kásh Ahmed Páshá, with the troops of Tripoli, and several other principal officers; besides ten thousand horse, composed chiefly of

Turcomans and Syrian troops, made up the detachment which was sent in pursuit of the rebels. The scattered and dispersed infidels, however, were now roaming about in the fields in the wildest disorder and distress of soul, terrifying and murdering the peasants wherever they met any. The pursuing Osmánlis followed hard after them, cutting and slashing all they overtook, and at last, closed up in a corner, as it were, such of the rebels as had had the good fortune to escape the general slaughter, were necessitated to make one last effort of resistance in self-defence. This effort was not only feeble but vain; and they were again forced to flee. Throwing away the provisions they had with them, they struggled hard to escape with their lives. Many of them having been on foot, were obliged to throw away their arms and accoutrements; and those of them who actually did escape the sword of vengeance, made their way through the province of Erzerúm to Ardehán, experiencing the most dreadful privations. Notwithstanding the hot pursuit after these wretched fugitives, in which so very many of them perished, some few of them, besides those who had made their way to Ardehán, escaped to Emir Gunah Khán. Their arrival, and their requesting the sháh's protection, were no sooner made known than they were cordially received; but when they were afterwards questioned as to the motive they had in rebelling against their lawful sovereign, and when, at the same time, they were told that their unfortunate coming into the sháh's dominions might, eventually, be the means of bringing foreign troops into his country, they seemed quite at a loss, and said some few incoherent things in justification of their conduct. A representation of their circumstances, and of their wicked rebellion against the Ottoman government was laid before the sháh, but they, after having their clothes altered after the Persian fashion, and agreeing to become kizil bashes (red heads), were promised the protection they sought for. The apostates cheerfully embraced the alternative offered them, looking upon it as a real favour, and instantly became incorporated with the kizil bashes. They were, in all, two thousand in number, and were sent off by one hundred and two hundreds to a country of misfortune, where they were dispersed, and left to experience the evil effects of their own misconduct.

His excellency the commander-in-chief, after having defeated and routed the rebel-army, as before described, marched towards the country of Cæsarea and Sívás, and encamped at a place called Chubuk Awásí, where he waited ten days for the return of the detachment which had gone in pursuit of the rebels. Whilst remaining at Chubuk Awásí messengers from Baghdád brought him letters which informed him that Jeghala Zádeh Mohammed Páshá had fully succeeded in vanquishing the rebel called Mustafa Ben Túyel. This account has been recorded by one of the poets of that time, who enumerated the achievements of Murád Páshá both in the east and west.

*His Excellency Murád Páshá hastens after the brother of Túyel Mahmúd.*

His excellency, the commander-in-chief, removed his camp from Chubuk Awásí and went to Sívás, where, after a halt of ten days, he learned that the infamous Meymún, brother to Túyel Mahmúd, who had conquered Baghdád and vanquished his ketkhodá, Hasan, had, with six thousand rebels, desolated the country round Kúr Sheher; but that after having heard of the defeat of Kalander Oghlí they hastily decamped, robbing and plundering what they could find in the vicinity of that city. They committed all the mischief they were able in every village and hamlet through which they passed, pillaging such of the Turcomans as fell in their way, and prepared to follow Kalander into Persia. Murád Páshá no sooner received this intelligence than he made all haste to intercept them if possible. Following this impulse, he left his heavy baggage and camp in the plains of Sívás, under the charge of the defterdár, Báki Páshá, and marched off with about two thousand or more spáhís, under the command of the ághá of the janissaries, besides some few others, making all the haste he was able. Each person carried with him seven days' provision, a small coverlet in the form of a canopy, or at least to be used as such, and a carpet to sleep on when necessary. This precipitate movement took place on the evening of the 17th of Jemadi II., and was continued, without the least intermission, for the space of six days and seven nights. His excellency, Murád Páshá, in his ninetieth year, fell sick on this hurried march, and was sometimes obliged to descend from his horse, when he lay on the

ground, having the appearance of a corpse. These fits of sickness, however, were not of any continuance: in a short time he was again enabled to mount and continue his journey. On the seventh day, the expedition reached Karah Hisár, where they made enquiry respecting the rebels they were in search of, and were informed that the rebel force had lodged in that place on the preceding night; but that they had set out by day-break for the narrow pass called the valley or hollow of Karah Hasan, where they, it would appear, had halted. Two thousand men, under the command of Píáleh Páshá, formerly of Bassora, were instantly dispatched to the hiding-place of the rebels. Murád, with the remainder of his veterans, followed close upon them, and arrived, though not first, at the valley or hollow where the rebels were hid. On the morning of the 23d of Jemadi, as these rebels, no way anticipating a visit from Murád Páshá, were saddling and loading their beasts of burden, they were suddenly, as if by a thunderbolt from heaven, put into the utmost consternation by perceiving Píáleh and his men come within their hiding-place; and who, like a flash of lightning, and before giving them time to enquire what had come over them, fell upon them at once. The resistance of the rebels was not of long continuance. Those of their foot-soldiers that were fortunate enough to escape the sword, fled out of the hollow, and made to the mountains: and their horsemen, though they, at one time, made an attempt to maintain their ground, fled also in the utmost confusion. Orders had been previously given (*i. e.* before the engagement), that none of the Moslems should lose any time in gathering up the spoil until the rebels had been completely vanquished. These orders, however, were neglected by some. The soldiers who were in front, seeing the property of the rebels lying scattered around them, were overcome by the temptation: they forgot their duty by beginning to appropriate to themselves the spoils which the rebels in their panic had abandoned. The result was, that the rebels found time to rally again; and, perceiving how their pursuers were employed, returned to a renewal of the combat with a spirit and vigour far superior to that which they had shown at the commencement. The struggle now became hot and doubtful. The governor of Adnah, Mustafa Páshá, and one or two Chorbá'ís fell in the contest: the advanced troops gave way, and began to retreat, but were stopped by

Khalíl Aghá, ághá of the janissaries, who had hurriedly stepped forward with the men under him, and prevented their flight. At this instant, and not before, did the commander-in-chief make his appearance; who, with the reinforcement which he brought with him, completely turned the fate of the day. The rebels finding themselves utterly unable to resist the force which was now brought to bear upon them, fell into confusion, and again retreated. The Moslems followed hard upon them, and drove them entirely out of the valley or hollow where the engagement had hitherto been carried on. The rebels, however, on getting into the plains called Kilwerat, again contrived to rally, and returned to the charge; but were soon totally broken, and forced to betake themselves to their usual expedient—flight. All those who had escaped the vengeance of the sword of the orthodox Muselmans followed the example of Kalander Oghlí. The whole of their baggage, of whatever kind it was, fell into the hands of the victors: very many of their men on foot were seized and brought back into the presence of Murád, who had, on account of the ill state of his health, remained on the field of battle, and who ordered them all to be executed without commiseration as they were brought before him. The dead bodies of the rebels were put into heaps in the field, and towers were made of their heads.

After these things, information was sent to Sivas of this new victory which the orthodox Moslems had gained in the valley of Karah Hasan; and orders, at the same time, were sent to the royal camp to advance to the place where the commanding general then was. These orders having been duly obeyed, the victorious and gallant serdár was again, on the 25th of Jemadi I., in motion, and on the 3d of Jemadi II. encamped at a place called Sadáklú, within a stage of Beybúrd; where, after a day or two's rest, he was joined by Báki Páshá and the troops under his command. At the expiration of these days he removed his camp to the valley of Sinvar, in the vicinity of Beybúrd, where he was joined by such of his troops as had not before returned from the pursuit of the rebels. The heads of the prisoners they had brought along with them were severed from their bodies, and made into heaps like mountains. Robes of honour



were conferred on the gallant chiefs who had been active on this occasion, and presents were made to the heroic troops.

About the middle of the month last mentioned, the *válí* of Diarbeker, Nesúh Páshá, with vezír-like pomp, sound of music, and martial display joined the royal camp. One thousand musketeers wearing fine scarlet robes; five hundred foot-guards wearing yellow regimentals; and five hundred more wearing black caps; and five thousand cavalry, was the display which Nesúh made on this occasion. But of what use was all this display? He and they ought to have come earlier, and to have been on the field of battle, to share in the dangers and the glory of the combat. After making the splendid display above alluded to, he advanced towards the commanding general, and, when within bow-shot of him, descended from his horse, proceeded on foot till he approached the general, who, by this time, had come four paces to meet him, when he fell on his knees and kissed the general's foot. The general, in return, showed him the respect due to his station, kissed his hand, and conducted him into his pavilion, telling him in a friendly manner that he was welcome, and calling him *son*. Nesúh Páshá bowed his head to the ground, and made this reply: "My noble lord will pardon me. My fault in not having arrived at an earlier period, and taking a share in the late important events, is great." "What," said the general, "was the reason that you have been so tardy? You have a most splendid army, thank God. You heard that the troops under my command amount to no more than the number that wintered with me at Aleppo. The distance between Diarbeker and Aleppo is not very great: but in reality you were near. If your not coming to my assistance was intended as a mark of disrespect to me, it was not disrespect to me, let me tell you, but disrespect for the emperor. If it had so happened that we had been discomfited, were you in circumstances to have advanced and met Kalander Oghlí? What do you think would be the judicial sentence of a judge on hearing of a Moslem army being too weak to act against a foe, whilst a powerful Moslem army was at no great distance from it and did not come to its aid?" Nesúh was absolutely unable to make any reply to these pointed interrogatories, and held down his head. "Son,"

said the general again, "son, what means this multitude of men? They are now unnecessary. Sixteen thousand men have been found sufficient to overcome Jánbulát Oghlí, and his followers have been all dispersed, or have been made to flee. You are already acquainted with the history of Kalander Oghlí. It was by no means the wish of the emperor that even one of these segbáns (foot-guards or soldiers), now with you, should ever have been in Anatolia; so that when you return to your government or province you must certainly disband them. If you be obstinate and disobey, remember the emperor has long hands (meaning great power). If one of those instruments of power, such as you have seen, be sent to execute you, you need not be much surprised?" In this way Murád Páshá conversed with Nesúh, and exhorted him; and afterwards made him a present of two robes of honour. In the afternoon of the same day, Nesúh Páshá returned to Murád's pavilion, bringing along with him some very splendid and valuable presents for him, dined with him, and continued in his company till the night was so far advanced that he required torches when he returned to his own tent. On the 27th of Jemadi II., Zulfekár Páshá, governor of Caramania, returned to the royal camp with his troops: so also did Etmekjí Zádéh, válí of Romeili, with his provincial troops, and brought along with him the money destined for the army; having marched by the way of Ancora. Though both of these officers had incurred the displeasure of the commanding general for the tardiness they had discovered, yet when he reflected on his own splendid achievements, he forgave them most freely. It is impossible to relate all the great and important services rendered by this celebrated, heroic, prudent, and skilful, though aged commander. Suffice it to say, that he took ample vengeance on the rebels, and cleared, in a great measure, the countries they infested of their presence and influence. When an account of the success he had obtained over Kalander Oghlí was sent to his majesty, his majesty, with feelings of the purest kindness, called the messenger into his presence, asked him most particularly as to the state of the war and the success of his general, showed peculiar marks of respect to the messenger himself ordered two suits of garments and a richly ornamented sword to be sent to Murád Páshá, and at the same time a robe of honour for each of the grandees in Murád's

army, besides some letters expressive of his best wishes for them all. Murád Páshá, not long afterwards, had it in his power to announce to the government of Constantinople his success against the brother of Túyel, whom he completely defeated.

*The commander-in-chief, Murád Páshá, is recalled to court.*

Notwithstanding the grace and favour which his excellency, Murád Páshá, had shown to Etmekjí Zádeh, who had failed to arrive with his Romeilian troops in sufficient time to assist against the two rebel chiefs so frequently mentioned, viz. Kalander Oghlí and Túyel; and notwithstanding that, instead of meeting with merited reproach for his tardiness, he was honoured with special marks of kindness, yet Etmekjí Zádeh, from an idea that he was not altogether safe from the influence of any evil designs which Murád Páshá might harbour against him, wrote to his friends at Constantinople in the most pressing manner to use their influence to have him recalled. Accordingly, on the 7th of Rajab, the commander-in-chief received a royal mandate, desiring him to confer the government of Romeili on whom he would, but by all means to send back the emperor's defterdár, Etmekjí Zádeh Ahmed Páshá, to Constantinople. The royal firmán commanded farther, that Murád Páshá should march his army to Erzerúm, there winter, and in the spring march against the Persians. Such was the import of the royal firmán.

The enlightened and skilful general answered as follows: "Sire, you have been pleased to recall Ahmed Páshá, the váli of Romeili. His coming or not coming to the assistance of the orthodox army was of no importance; nor can his staying here yield them any advantage. As to your slave (Murád himself), you have ordered him to go into winter-quarters at Erzerúm. Is the province of Anatolia become so completely defended and guarded as to render it safe for me to winter in Erzerúm, and in the spring to open a campaign against Persia? Should the rebels who may still exist assemble themselves together, are the vezírs of your august court competent to quell or disperse them? In this affair let the gracious will of the emperor be done. The time for distributing the troops into winter-quarters is at hand. A kilch (a certain measure) of barley sells at five ducats, and the

wakayet (about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  lbs.) of bread has risen to a ghorúsh (a dollar)." So much for the sentiments of Murád to his sovereign. Immediately on sending the above he commenced making arrangements for obeying the imperial firmán; but when his multitudinous troops assembled together, they declared it impracticable to do so, because of the dearth which prevailed in Erzerúm. "The emperor," said they, "is not acquainted with the state and circumstances of that province: he listens only to the voice of those flatterers who surround him: they, as well as the káimakám, have no wish to see the noble general-in-chief return to Constantinople. They have the whole management of affairs in their own hands, and they see well, that should the grand vezír (Murád Páshá) return, the impracticability of the plans they have recommended would be made to appear. We have been now (continued the military) two years in the war, and have achieved several important victories. We shall now return home." The general, after having given utterance to these unceremonious sentiments, called the cazí of the camp, and caused him to write out a statement of the prices of provisions, and gave a copy of it, as well as a statement of their own sentiments, to the kapújís who had conveyed the imperial firmán, and forthwith sent them back to the grand sultán. On the following day his excellency, the commander-in-chief, appointed Hasan Páshá, beglerbeg of Erzerúm, and a number of begs, with Chukál Oghlí Hasan Aghá, and about thirty chorbájís, to accompany the imperial messengers. Karah Hisár, in the east, he conferred on Turkijeh Bilmaz, and the province of Wán on Tekelí Mohammed Páshá: Zulfekár Páshá was sent back to his own government in Caramania, and Etmekjí Zádeh and the Romeilian troops he dismissed to European Turkey. He also allowed Nesúh Páshá to return to his own government at Diarbekér, and he himself, about the 15th of Rajab, went to Tokat. He had been scarcely two days at Tokat, when just as he was in the act of paying his troops, he received another imperial firmán which was expressed in these terms: "At whatever station our imperial firmán reaches you, there winter." This was brief enough; but the commanding general, by private letters which he had received by the same conveyance which brought him the above short firmán, was let into the secret. These letters assured him that several of the influential and ruling party at court

were altogether averse to his returning to Constantinople; that one of these, Kapudán Háfez Ahmed Páshá, was the emperor's favourite; that he, as also the káímakám, Mustafa Páshá, the reverend mufti, Mohammed Effendí, his old enemy, and Mustafa, ághá of the palace, had, by leaguering together, represented to his majesty that the rebellion in Anatolia had been altogether crushed, and that instead of recalling Murád Páshá, he ought to be sent against the sháh of Persia.

When his excellency, Murád Páshá, was thus informed how matters stood, he answered the royal firmán in the following terms: "Sire, you have been pleased to order me to winter at Erzerúm and in the spring to march against the Persians. What is to be done? It is the will of my sovereign. Your slave is now a weak old man of ninety years of age; but I trust I shall fall a martyr in the field of battle. When I march against the sháh of Persia, the armed rebels, who now lurk in their hiding-places, will then find an opportunity of again becoming troublesome. They are waiting for a chance of this kind, especially Meseli Chavush, Aydín, and Yúsuf of Sarúkhán, besides several others of the same description. Should what I have now hinted be realized, and they again commence the work of violence and mischief, will you not, in that case, have to send hither from Romeili another commander-in-chief? Leave us, if you please, where we are. The master of the work knows his own duty best. Do not you follow the counsels of those sycophants who surround you. Permit us to eradicate the enemies amongst ourselves first, and then we shall direct our movements against the kingdom of Persia." This answer was sent back to the emperor by means of the persons who had brought him the royal firmán, whilst he himself made preparations for returning to Constantinople.

On the 9th of Ramazán he arrived at Scutari, and on the following day, with a splendid retinue and four hundred standards taken from the rebels, each of which bore, in bright letters, the names of the rebel-chiefs under whom it had been carried, he passed over to the metropolis, dressed himself in a double suit of fine robes, put a turban ornamented with feathers on his head, and went into the emperor's presence to do obeisance before him. The emperor was in a short time convinced of the worth and dignity of his general's talents and general conduct, and immediately ordered

splendid robes, such as were suitable to the imperial grandeur to confer, to be given to Murád Páshá. The public in general, poets and historians, spoke of him in the most laudatory manner.

It is not to be concealed that, from the day the celebrated Murád Páshá passed over to Scutari, as commander-in-chief of the eastern forces, the services which he had rendered to his sovereign and country were immense. Thirty thousand, at least, of those rebels who had served under Jánbúlát Oghlí, Kalander Oghlí, and Túyel, including those who had been murdered by the peasantry, perished by his means. What may have been the number of those who perished otherwise, is not known. In villages, and in small towns, sometimes from a hundred to a thousand, and even as many as three thousand of the rebels who had fortified themselves within them, were all slain with the sword. Forty-eight principal rebel chiefs and twenty-five thousand rebels are said to have perished in flight. In the Register of Tokat it is inserted, that by far the greater part of these numbers, whose heads had been made to roll on the ground in front of the serdár's pavilion, had been rooted out by Murád Páshá's troops. To these now mentioned may be added about thirty thousand more who had been seized alive and executed, and the number of rebels who perished in this war could not have been less than 100,000 souls.

The enemies of the grand vezír and commander-in-chief, Murád Páshá, when they saw the honours which had been heaped upon him, were not only exceedingly grieved, but their hatred and malignity increased and led them, moreover, to employ villainous means to ruin him. They insinuated, for instance, that Murád had seized on all Jánbúlát Oghlí's treasures and effects which had remained with his wife and children at Aleppo; and for the truth of this charge they appealed to some of Jánbúlát Oghlí's sons, whom Murád Páshá had sent to the royal haram. They, of course, were his enemies, and had the hardihood to assert that the treasurer, Báki Páshá, had spent six whole months in selling and disposing of their father's property. This was a vile exaggeration. It happened, however, that one day, when Báki Páshá was sitting in the diván, the ághá of the janissaries received a royal firmán ordering him to convey Báki Páshá to the Seven

Towers. The ághá, without Murád Páshá's knowing any thing of the matter, proceeded to the diván, seized on Báki Páshá, and conveyed him in a boat to the prison above-mentioned. This took place on a Tuesday; and after the vezírs had entered into the royal audience he addressed them thus: "I have ordered Báki Páshá to the Seven Towers; let Ahmed Páshá (*i. e.* Etmekjí Zádeh) be reinstated into the office of lord high treasurer, and let Báki Páshá be examined with respect to Jánbúlát Oghlí's property, that we may know what he has done with it: also let the strictest enquiry be made of Murád Páshá." "Why," replied Murád Páshá, "having been anxious to preserve the most valuable and most precious of Jánbúlát Oghlí's effects for your royal majesty, I prevented them from being sold; and brought them along with me, to be delivered over to your royal majesty. Let Báki Páshá answer for the rest." The new lord high-treasurer, Ahmed Páshá, on examining his predecessor in office with regard to this matter, was undauntedly informed that he (*i. e.* Báki Páshá), with the exception of the articles which Murád Páshá had claimed for his royal majesty, had disposed of the rest for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the war. No more was said about it; and Báki Páshá, after having lain forty days in the Seven Towers, was set at liberty. He passed the winter at Constantinople, and was employed in making arrangements for commencing a new campaign in the spring.

The lord high-admiral, Háfez Páshá, after having cruized along the shores of Romeñi, sailed to the port of Alexandria, took in the taxes which had been gathered in Egypt, and returned to Istamból. The government of Syria was conferred on him, and the admiralship on Khalíl Aghá, ághá of the janissaries. The ágháship of the janissaries was conferred on Mohammed Aghá, Spáhí Zádeh, of the artillery department.

*Concerning Mohammed Páshá in Egypt.*

After the murder of Ibrahim Páshá in Egypt, in the year 1012, the disturbance in that country became every day more and more serious and alarming; but by the prudent and efficient measures employed by Gúrjí Mohammed Páshá, who, in 1016, was sent thither to quell the tumults



which had been raised there, they were to a considerable extent allayed. He slew a vast number of the insurgents; whilst, at the same time, he brought the others for the most part, under subjection, at least to all appearance. But Mohammed Páshá having been succeeded in office by Hasan Páshá, from Yemen, a man of extraordinary mildness, the insurgents, subdued though not crushed, were again emboldened to rise in rebellion, and to commit outrages more terrible than they had formerly been guilty of.

The origin of the evil just now alluded to seems to have been this. The válís or governors who had been sent to Egypt, made it a first principle to press heavy upon the inspectors of taxes, by forcing them to advance large sums of money, taking from some ten thousand, from others twenty thousand, and from others forty thousand ducats, according to circumstances, and only on payment of these enormous sums were they confirmed in their office. These inspectors and those others employed in raising the taxes or revenue were, from this circumstance, necessarily constrained to lay such heavy duties upon the inhabitants, to enable them to meet the demands of the válí, as were far beyond what was necessary, or they were well able to pay. The inspectors and revenue officers too, in order to meet their own extravagance and dissipation, made the burdens of the people still more intolerable and grievous. In short, to so high a pitch did they carry this system of taxation, that the wretched inhabitants, not any longer able to endure it, rose in rebellion, and determined, at all hazards, to resist an oppression which they evidently foresaw would utterly ruin them.

This was the state in which the country was involved when Mohammed Páshá entered upon the government of Egypt. He, very properly, set himself, at once, to correct abuses and to punish offenders. The money which came into the hands of the collectors, and which usually amounted to more than one hundred thousand ducats per annum, he, by a wise regulation, prevented from being subject to any deductions whatever. He also made a new regulation, by which the tax-gatherers were, in future, to be guided. Without the consent and approbation of the diván of Mesir, they were to impose no tax whatever, nor to advance, unnecessarily, money to the inspectors. In the third place, he confirmed in their situations those

inspectors and tax-gatherers who had acted with moderation ; but such of these classes as had been convicted of extortions and injustice, he caused to be seized : some of them he dismissed with contempt and ignominy, and others he sent out of the world altogether.

By these methods he soon established confidence in his administration, and all classes of the people seemed satisfied with the arrangements which he adopted. The want of confidence, and unhappy tumults, which the injustice and oppression to which we have adverted had occasioned in Egypt, were happily, by his means, removed. In short, to so great a degree were peace and security every where established, that the weakest and most timorous could travel to and from Grand Cairo with the greatest safety. By his wisdom and prudence he gained the concurrence and good will of the chief men among the people, as well as of the officers belonging to the Chavushes, cavalry and janissaries, as well as of the city-guards or militia. And, in order to do away with all grounds of discontent and opposition, he called a general meeting, at which the whole of the nobles, princes, inspectors, revenue-officers, and six companies of feudatory troops were present ; to whom, in the most earnest manner, he expressed himself thus : " His majesty is by no means disposed to permit tyranny and oppression to exist anywhere within his dominions. Ever since the moment that I, his servant, came into possession of this government, to which I was preferred, it has been my study, in obedience to his will, to remove oppression, tyranny, and injustice ; and to afford peace, safety, and happiness to the people in the different departments in Egypt. This is in accordance with the express wish of his majesty, who is every way opposed to injustice and oppression, as well as to every kind of invasion of the rights and privileges of the people. In confirmation of this, I need only repeat to you his own words." Here he produced the emperor's commission, which he caused to be read aloud, and which ran thus : " Behold, we have relieved you from those burdens which the governors, revenue-officers, and other functionaries, have been in the habit of imposing on you ; it is, therefore, the duty of the people to break off all friendly intercourse with those persons who have been convicted of such base practices." The whole of the assembled multitude, on hearing the emperor's

sentiments read to them, expressed, in return, their best wishes for his well-being. Those in this assembly who had been in the habit of acting corruptly were, for their own sakes, silent and assumed the appearance of being content; but it was only because they were unable to effect any opposition. Such, however, was the general impression made on this occasion on the mind of the people, particularly by the mildness and meekness manifested by the vezír, that they remained, for a time, afterwards quiet; but the peace was not of long duration. The mercenary tribe who had been deprived of the power of exercising tyranny and injustice on the people, collected together, and falling on those persons who had succeeded them in the revenue department, slew them without mercy. Determined on further resistance to the new arrangements, they entered into a sort of confederacy, whereby they bound themselves not to desist from their demands until they had obtained acquiescence in them.

Information of these things having been communicated to the vezír, he instantly called together his great men, and represented to them the state of matters with respect to those desperadoes who had just been guilty of shedding innocent blood, and now had formed themselves into a confederacy in opposition to the will of the emperor. Therefore, said he, let the whole of them be collected into the maidán or square, in order that the thing may be properly investigated. This was accordingly done. On the same occasion, also, the various troops were brought into the maidán and formed into companies in front of the fortress immediately opposite to the refractory multitude. The Páshá intimated to the latter that whosoever among them wished to be obedient to the emperor, should pass over to the side where his military stood, and join himself to one or other of his divisions or companies. The confederates cried out, that they were not rebels: that they deprecated the idea of being unfaithful to the emperor. "Our wages," continued they, "not having been sufficient to maintain our existence, we could not have lived, unless we had imposed extra contributions on the people: our actual poverty was the cause." The Páshá, not satisfied with these declarations (altogether foreign to the purpose for which they had been assembled), and wishing to find out the secret of their confederacy, as well as a confession of their guilt, thought that if he permitted them,

now that they were fully in his power, to retire to their own homes, he could not so easily, afterwards, effect his purpose, nor secure the ring-leaders amongst them; he therefore told them, that though he should keep them all night standing on their feet where they were, he would not let them move a step till they delivered up to him their ringleaders. He then ordered the guns on the batteries to be directed against them, and assured them that their destruction was inevitable if they did not instantly comply with his wishes. This method of dealing had the desired effect. After hearing the Páshá's speech, wherein he pointedly informed them that unless they gave up the principal ringleaders, and especially those amongst them who had been guilty of the late murders, the cannon and musketry would open a fire upon them without delay; and seeing preparations for carrying his threat into effect, and that it only awaited the páshá's command, their danger became too apparent to admit of disguise. They were astonished by the situation in which they were placed, and delivered over a certain number from amongst them to the páshá, and afterwards retired, but full of rage and fury.

After these different commotions and disturbances, and during this present year, a certain number of Egyptian troops were ordered to be sent to the aid of his excellency, the commander-in-chief, Murád Páshá, in Anatolia. Mohammed Páshá, on receiving the above firmán, selected the number required from among the most turbulent and disorderly of the tribe of tax-gatherers\* we have been speaking of, and sent them off under the command of Kansú Beg. During the whole of the struggle carried on with Kalandar Oghlí they manifested the utmost bravery, and were present in almost every engagement till the end of the war, or at least till the rebels were all dispersed. At this period they presented themselves before the commanding-general, and demanded, as the reward of their services, the office of collecting the revenues of Egypt. Murád, anxious to satisfy them, gave them a document by which he put them in possession of the places they wanted, but with no enlargement of powers or authority beyond what were customary from ancient times. On the return of these military tax-gatherers to Egypt they presented the document which Murád Páshá

\* A sort of military farmers, who rented the revenues of Egypt.

had given to them to Mohammed Páshá, who told them they should be rewarded for their services according to circumstances. "Such of them," he said, "as had no experience or skill, could not expect the favour they wished. Besides," continued he, "your wishes are directly opposed to the declared will of the emperór, who, by his firmán, has abolished the practice altogether." When these ignorant and insolent fellows found themselves thus thwarted in their views and purposes they became exceedingly enraged, began to form plots amongst themselves, and communicated their wicked designs to all the discontented paupers and robbers throughout the country. They craftily enticed the discontented about Aradel, always famous for disloyalty, to join them; they likewise gained over some Kurds and some wretched labourers by promises of money. All these malcontents found means, some way or other, to assemble together at a place called Khánegáh, within two stages of Cairo.

The páshá, hearing of their movements, and being fully aware of the object they had in view, ordered Khoaja Mustafa Beg to advance with a number of troops of various kinds to oppose them. Yúsuf Beg commanded his advance-guard, and Kansú Beg, collector of the revenue, with all those under him, joined the expedition. Mustafa Beg pitched his camp in the plains of Adeleya, not far from Cairo.

The malcontents by this time had themselves properly and regularly organized, and had appointed themselves leaders. No sooner did they hear of an army being sent against them, and of the place where it was encamped, than they, towards evening, sent two hundred horsemen to reconnoitre the camp of Mustafa. Mustafa conjectured this party had the intention of attacking him by night, and not having sufficient force to sustain an attack, he sent word immediately to Egypt, which however did not reach that city till about the fifth hour of the night, when the several public criers announced the danger which threatened Mustafa, calling, at the same time, on every one, on pain of punishment, to rally round their commanders. So promptly was this announcement attended to, that before day-light every military man in Egypt was on his way to Adeleya. On reaching Adeleya they perceived the danger which had been announced in Egypt was by no means an imaginary one. The royalists, in the circumstances

in which they found themselves at this juncture of events, thought it would be most advisable to send the six-fingered sheikh, Mohammed Effendí, to speak to the insurgents about the unreasonableness of their conduct; but the rebels turned a deaf ear to all his exhortations and expostulations. They were too sensible of their advantages, and too ardent in pursuit of them, to attend to the worthy priest. He tendered them many good advices, and made them many fine promises, provided they would follow his counsels; but they still remained obstinate, and prepared for battle. The commander, after this fruitless negotiation, removed with his troops to Berkát a l'haj, where he remained till the following day, when he marched against the insurgents. They, in their turn, advanced towards him, and soon both armies stood facing each other. By this time, however, the royalists were greatly increased in numbers by detachments which had joined them from other places; and when the insurgents found themselves opposed by an army far superior to every thing they had anticipated, their courage failed them. They now began mutually to accuse each other for the steps they had taken, each one blaming his neighbour; and at length several of them came to the commander, craving forgiveness. In the most abject manner, they dismounted from their horses, and threw themselves on the ground, supplicating for mercy at his hands. The commander, Mustafa Beg, said he had it not in his power to grant it them, as he should be obliged to carry them all, bound in chains, to Mohammed Páshá, whose province it was both to forgive and set them at liberty, as he pleased. Those who thus submitted, however, met with clemency, and were incorporated with one or other of the military bodies brought against them; but such as remained obstinate, and chose rather to try their strength than submit, met with the fate they deserved: their dead bodies were made into heaps on the field of battle. About forty of them escaped into the desert, but of their life or death nothing more was ever heard. Mustafa Beg now returned to Cairo, bringing with him about forty or fifty of the principal leaders in chains, and presented them before the válí, Mohammed Páshá, as trophies of his victory. Mustafa was highly honoured on account of his success against the insurgents, and the heads of those whom he brought bound in chains were ordered to be cut off on the spot. About as many as

were thus put to death were killed by Mustafa himself before he left the scene of action. About three hundred of the insurgents were shipped off at Suez, and sent into Arabia, and the rest of them were, through the intervention of the great men of Egypt, pardoned, and set at liberty, after having promised in the presence of their intercessors every thing that was required of them.

After succeeding in crushing the insurgents, as above described, and establishing good order everywhere, Mohammed Páshá extended his prudent and capacious mind to every department of government, as well as to other objects of utility. *One of his measures was*, regulating the coin of Egypt, which had been very much worn and obliterated, and which of course had caused much confusion, and even deception in buying and selling. *Another was*, rectifying the abuses and unlawful practices carried on between the farmers and the tax-gatherers, which had occasioned, not unfrequently, a deficiency in the public granaries and magazines. *A third was*—The janissaries and other troops in Egypt having no barracks, and being besides unmarried, he erected, within the fortress, suitable odás for them to live in. By this means the garrison or fortress was always furnished with troops, whilst the inhabitants, at the same time, were screened from the violence of the soldiery. *A fourth was*—He took charge of the golden and silver girdles or hoops which had been made for defending the pillars of Mecca, and the cistern of pure gold, all which had been sent to Egypt from Constantinople, and forwarded them with proper artists to the place of their destination. These artists not only performed that work without either fee or reward, but rendered several other important services to that holy place. For instance, they enlarged and renewed the pulpit, which was formerly too narrow; they renewed the portico which runs along the cistern; they beautified and adorned the pillars in the centre of that noble edifice, and also its walls; the metaf (or the place round which pilgrims walked in procession) was rendered smooth and equal; they repaired or built anew the court, and carried away the whole of the rubbish and dirt which had for years been accumulating in the vicinity of the sacred temple; they also caused the beds or canals of



the waters of Mecca and Arfat to be repaired. *A fifth was*—The repairs of the wells of Azlam, a place which was about half-way between Mecca and Cairo, where the pilgrims and the well-furnished caravans of Egypt used to meet, which were in a great measure rendered useless by the rebellious Arabs. It would appear that the *válí* of Egypt, Sheríf Páshá, had, in 1004, opened these wells, commonly called the wells of Ibrahim Páshá, and to prevent their being rendered useless by the Arabs, he built a fortress in their neighbourhood, and placed some few troops in it. This, of course, proved a source of great comfort to pilgrims and other travellers, inasmuch as it served as a place of refreshment and repose. A very heavy rain afterwards demolished this fortress, and the Arabs, to the annoyance of pilgrims, rendered the wells useless. The *vezír*, whose good deeds we are here recording, rebuilt the demolished fortress, put a garrison in it, and repaired the wells. *The sixth was*—A work similar to the one we have last mentioned, which he caused to be constructed at Adjerú, between Cairo and Akba. *A seventh was*—The erection of shops in the vicinity of the great temple in Cairo. *The eighth was*—The erection of a *khánegáh* (an edifice for religious purposes), and also of eleemosinary places for sheikhs, dervishes, and others. On the annual commemoration of Mohammed's nativity he distributed numerous presents amongst those who read on that occasion. *A ninth was*—The erection of new houses near the *odas* which had been built for the janissaries; a huge wall or mass of rock, forty cubits broad and sixty long, having fallen down by accident, the space which these ruins had occupied he caused to be cleared away, erected new houses on it, and filled them with families. *A tenth was*—The rebuilding of the redoubt or fortress between Cairo and Shám. This building having been demolished by heavy rains, and having also become the haunt of worthless Arabs, he ordered it to be rebuilt, and supplied it with water. *An eleventh was*—The rebuilding of the fortress or redoubt of Yúnus, which was in a similar condition to the one last mentioned. He also placed a number of paid soldiers in it, and ordered a mosque and a bath to be erected in it. *A twelfth was*—The rebuilding of the fortress of Beit Khaberín, between Gaza and Balad al Khakíl-rahman; on which also he ordered

a mosque and a bath to be erected, and an aqueduct to be constructed. The painted tiles in the dome erected by Sultán Soléiman Khán having become mutilated and loose, he replaced them with new tiles.

This wonderful man, after having governed Egypt for four years and five months, was recalled to Constantinople. Whether at Cairo or journeying, he was in the habit of visiting holy and consecrated places, and of offering up prayers for the emperor; thus gaining to himself advantages in both worlds. After his return to Constantinople, Jouher Khán Sultána, daughter of the grand sultán, thought him worthy of her affections, and the result was that he became the emperor's son-in-law.

The articles of the treaty of peace between Turkey and Austria, which may be called the treaty of Sidova, was finally ratified and signed by the Ottoman emperor on the 1st of Rajab in this year.

*A great earthquake.*

The fortress or city of Nova, situate on the sea-coast, belonging to the dominions of the arch-duke (of Austria), was visited by a tremendous earthquake, which almost entirely overthrew it. Forty-four yúks,\* the average of the receipt of its custom-house, were expended in erecting a new one. A magazine of salt, which stood on the shore, and near the custom-house, and which brought a revenue of four or five yúks per annum, sustained considerable injury by the shock, inasmuch as it caused the sea to retire to the distance of about a bow-shot.

A Spanish fleet of about thirty ships approached within three miles of this city, either about the time of the earthquake, or some time either after or before it, with hostile intentions. The governor of that sanják happened to be at that very time engaged in the war in Transylvania; but the defterdár of Bosnia hastened to the aid of Nova, and commenced firing its cannon, when the Spaniards disgracefully retired.

\* A yúk is about 1,000 dollars.

## EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1018, H.

*The grand vezir and commander-in-chief, Murád Páshá, is again sent to the East.*

We have already mentioned the return of Murád Páshá to Constantinople, and the reception he there met with. Every preparation for resuming war-like operations in the east was carried on, during the winter months, with the utmost activity and vigour, and early in the spring the pavilion of the commanding-general was again erected in the plains of Scutari. Before this, however, it is to be observed, that the commander-in-chief wrote to Meseli Chavush, who had taken part in the late rebellion in Anatolia, but who had not yet been subdued, to hold himself in readiness for acting under him against the Persians, and desired him to join the royal camp along with Zulfekár. In the communication he sent Meseli he promised, though only with the view of getting him into his own hands, to confer on him the government of Caramania, and that he would bestow that of Anatolia on Zulfekár. In a private letter to Zulfekár, however, he expressed himself thus: "I have employed every method I could to get Meseli Chavush into my power, but have hitherto failed. Having secured himself among inaccessible rocks, I did not think it proper to risk troops in searching him out. Under the pretext of esteem for him, a sanják in the interior has been conferred on him, and I have written to him to join the army destined against Persia, and have promised him the government of Caramania to induce him to do so. Use what dissimulation you can, and perhaps you may succeed in getting him into your power. The love of office will induce him to come to you. Remove all his suspicions by showing him every mark of respect; you will thus secure his confidence, and incline him to come and join the grand army. You are not to permit him to do this, however, but as soon as you have him in your power, cut off his head and send it to Constantinople. If you succeed in compassing his destruction, I promise to give you the government of Anatolia, and also a vezirship, as a reward for your services. You will, if you succeed, do the emperor a very important service, who will, besides the honour which shall

be conferred on you, present your son, Mohammed Beg, with a province in the interior. You will act, I have no doubt, like a man : I have committed the whole affair to you."

In a similar way to that in which he addressed Meseli he also wrote to Yúsuf Páshá, who had been ketkhodá to Oveis Páshá of Aydin, Sarúkhán, and Mantesha. This Yúsuf Páshá was at the head of a body of rebels which amounted to four thousand armed men, beside some cavalry. The letter which Murád Páshá sent to this rebel-chief was couched in these terms : " My son, I have heard of some of your virtues and high talents, which I esteem very much. Although you have such a considerable number of men under you, yet no rumour of any injustice practised by you is any where heard. The reverse of injustice in you must be the case. Still, however innocent though you appear to be, you are considered a rebel ; free yourself, then, if you are a man, from the odious imputation. You are a person every way fit for taking part in the war against the Persians : it may even be proper to give you the command of troops for this purpose. If you show that you have regretted your former conduct, you may depend on obtaining the emperor's favour. Those men who have rebelled against the benign Ottoman government have met with no pity. Jánbulát Oghlí, Kalander Oghlí, and Karah Seyed, were the most conspicuous of rebels ; but what is become of them ? Attend to my counsel, and be my son here and hereafter (*i. e.* in both worlds). In order to persuade you to do so, I swear, in the most solemn manner, that you shall suffer no injury whatever from our most gracious monarch. I, an old, frail man, am ordered to march against the Persians, and I ask you to accompany me. You may, perhaps, chance to acquire great wealth, and at all events you will be put in possession of Magnesia : you will thus have an opportunity of acquitting yourself in the eye of the emperor, and securing his favour. If, in rejecting the counsel I have now tendered to you, you decline going to the Persian war, then I am free of the oath I have made to you. I need not say any thing more to you. You are safe if you come to Scutari. There you can remain a few days and look about you, when afterwards you shall have the honour, along with me, of kissing the emperor's hand. Come to what conclusion you think best, but remember

what will be the result if you now neglect to follow my advice. Answer this letter at any rate."

When this letter reached Yúsuf Páshá, he called his friends together and read the contents of it in their hearing. "Why," said his rebel-associates, "whoever may be so foolish as to give credit to the vain and deceitful words of this letter, will find, to his experience, that he will have to part with his precious life. It is altogether preposterous to put any faith in that old man's oath. In answer to the question, 'whether we shall be able to stand our own ground, should he, when he finds us obstinate, come against us?' we would shortly say, 'Anatolia is a wide country, and we have no necessity to meet him; let us go to some distance out of his way. The winter will soon arrive, and he and his army will then be obliged to retire into winter-quarters, when we may rest in safety.'" Others replied, "That a decree affecting their life might, in the event of proving obstinate, be issued against them, when the whole country would rise up to be revenged on them. Better," said they, "that we agree to follow the advice given in the letter from the commanding-general, and return to our obedience. Let us, however, use every precaution: he cannot kill us before our time come. What a terrible rebel was Zulfekár once, and he did not kill him! He called him his son. Turkijeh Bilmaz Hasan and others after the days of Karah Yaziji (Scrivano) were not trampled under foot and murdered. Was not Tekeli Mohammed Páshá a notorious rebel? and when he fell into his hands he did not murder him." Such was the way these wise men reasoned among themselves, and at last agreed to send the following answer: "You have invited us to come to you, and we are no way disposed to resist your will. Your oath has inspired us with confidence, and as soon as your excellency arrives at Scutari we shall show you our sincerity." This answer was sent with the person who had brought Murád Páshá's communication to Yúsuf Páshá, as before mentioned.

We must now return to Murád's own operations. After having transported his troops and baggage to the Asiatic side, he took up his lodgings in his own pavilion, which had been previously erected for him. The emperor himself also visited the city of Scutari, and took up his residence in the gardens of that city, whither his council was summoned to attend.

His vezír (Murád) told him it was not the custom of his illustrious progenitors to do so: that Istámbol was the place where a council should properly be held. "Gúrjí Mohammed Páshá," continued his vezír, "is káimakám, let him attend to the affairs of the faithful. As soon as the lord high treasurer, Ahmed Páshá, settles the pecuniary affairs of his department let him come over, when I shall hand in to your majesty a report how matters stand." This advice of the vezír pleased his majesty, at least it appeared to do so, for he did not urge the meeting of his council any more. Not long afterwards, however, the emperor wrote to Murád to hasten his departure for the Persian war, and to delay no longer. Murád Páshá, on receiving this imperial notice, waited on his majesty, and said he had something particular to say to him. They both retired into a private apartment, when the grand vezír addressed him thus, premising, however, that what he had to say to him must be kept a secret, which the other faithfully promised to observe. "Be it known, therefore, to your majesty," said the premier, "that though we have been ostensibly engaged in preparing for the Persian war, it has been, in fact, for a different object that we have been so engaged. The notorious rebel, Meseli Chavush, is in possession of six or seven fortresses or places of strength in the mountainous part of Anatolia. It would not be safe to send an army into the mountains after him, because by hurling down stones he might destroy numbers of our orthodox believers"—here he related the steps he had taken in writing to Meseli. The asylum of the world appeared surprised, and asked him if he was capable of murdering a person who, in the faith of his promises, put himself in his power? His excellency, the grand vezír, replied: "If, in obédience to your orders, we march against Persia, how will you act with the rebel-chief of Aydıń and Sarúkhán, Yúsuf Páshá?" "By God," said his majesty, "you have remarked well; that rebel had totally escaped my memory; his case has not been attended to." The grand vezir then informed him of the steps he had pursued with regard to him, and of the result, which we need not again repeat, and added: "if these two notorious rebels are once in our power, the whole of the province of Anatolia will not only be regained, but peace and tranquillity will also be restored. Let your majesty keep what I have been saying to you a perfect

secret : let nothing of it transpire." His majesty ejaculated a short prayer, wished him God-speed, and dismissed him.

*Yúsuf Páshá arrives at Scutari.*

About a month after the grand vezír had the above interview with the emperor, Yúsuf Páshá's followers arrived at Scutari, and he himself in three days after them, when he ordered them to erect their tents. The grand vezír showed him every mark of esteem and friendship, and permitted him, when he appeared in his presence, to be seated at his side. "Be my son," said the vezír, "here and hereafter," presented him with a double suit of robes, and ordered robes to be given to a hundred of his men. A few days afterwards he presented him to his majesty, to whom Yúsuf had brought some very important and valuable presents; and on this occasion he was honoured with another robe from his sovereign.

About this time, the grand vezír, Murád Páshá, received an answer to his communication to Zulfekár, which informed him that Meseli Chavush had arrived. The vezír wrote back to assure him that he would not fail in his promises, and urged him to do the work assigned him. Another month passed away, and Yúsuf Páshá became impatient to be employed against the Persians, for whose wealth and property he thirsted. The grand vezír, however, found means to put him off from day to day, for Meseli was not yet disposed of, and on this, in a great measure, his own fate depended.

In the mean time, in consequence of some representation made to the emperor from some quarter or other, Murád Páshá was again ordered to set out on his march to the frontiers of Persia, and that too without delay, unless he wished another to supersede him in the chief command. This order was peremptory; within the space of three days he must be on his march. The grand vezír, on receiving this intimation, again waited on his majesty and said to him, "Sire, your slave explained to your majesty how matters stood, the last time I had the honour of speaking with you: it certainly must have escaped your blessed memory." "No, by no means," answered his majesty, "I have perfect recollection of it; nor have I intimated a syllable of it to any one." "Why," replied the vezír, "if you approved of what I at that time proposed to your majesty, wherefore is it



that you have ordered me to march? We have Yúsuf Páshá in our power. If we despatch him just now, Mesli Chavush will, when he hears of it, make his escape from Zulfekár, and become more formidable than ever: it will be no easy matter to get hold of him again. As soon as we set out for the Persian campaign, he will come and attack Scutari. Pay no regard, sire, to the speeches of your cazís, for they are unacquainted with the state of matters; they will be brought to understand things better afterwards. Leave me to act as I think proper." The emperor was again overcome by the reasoning of his vezír, and left him to do as he thought best, and dismissed him.

*Mesli Chavush and Yúsuf Páshá are murdered.*

Mesli Chavush, who had joined Zulfekár, lived with the latter on terms of apparent intimacy and friendship, but which, on the part of Zulfekár, could not have been sincere, whatever he might have manifested to the contrary. His apparent friendship had the effect he wished, and that was to disarm Mesli of all fear and suspicion as to his own safety.

One day he proposed that both should pay a visit in company to the country or sanják which had been promised to Mesli, to which Mesli agreed. On this journey they spent a month: they went from Iconium to Larenda, and visited the fortresses of Mút, Mirah, Kúnis, and Tumrak, each of which was so impregably situated among rocks, that an Osmánlí army would have found it next to impossible to reduce it. Such were the places which Mesli commanded, and which had rendered him formidable to the Osmánlí government.

After an excursion of one and twenty days of pleasure they returned to Iconium, whence, in a day or two afterwards, they went to Miram, having taken their respective followers and equipages along with them. Here also they went about together in the greatest apparent friendship, visited together the different spectacles which were to be seen there, and went together to the different places of amusement. Zulfekár was seeking all this while a fit opportunity for accomplishing Murád Pashá's wishes, and it was not long before such an opportunity offered itself. Mesli was sitting one day with a turban or tiara on his head, and like a prince was enjoying

his pleasures, without fear or suspicion of any thing, when some of the men of his ostensible friend, who had been previously instructed how to act, fell upon him and despatched him. One of these came secretly behind him, and secured his head in a sort of noose with one hand, and with the other stabbed him with his dagger. The rest of the assassins, when they saw the struggle which ensued, came hastily forward, and after strangling him, cut off his head. Whatever valuables were found in his possession were seized by Murád's lieutenant, for the purpose of being afterwards confiscated. Zulfekár Páshá and the defterdár of Caramania, Yúnus Effendí, went to take an account of the property he possessed in the fortresses which he had taken; and his head, under the charge of ten men, was sent off to Scutari, to Murád Páshá. The men who had the charge of Mesli's head reached the place of their destination in five days, and communicated secretly to the grand vezír the purport of their visit to Scutari. He immediately waited on the emperor and communicated to him the news of the fate of Mesli; and added, that the head of the rebel Yúsuf Páshá would not be much longer on his shoulders. We ought to have mentioned, however, that the head of Mesli was, after having been fixed on the point of a spear and carried publicly through the camp, placed before the grand vezír's tent. When the grand vezír announced to his majesty, that the head of a formidable enemy had been brought into the camp, and as we have already observed, that the head of Yúsuf Páshá would not remain long on his shoulders, he started up from his sofa in surprise, and said "May God, my dear father, reward you for your many services to me," and desired him to do as he thought fit.

On the following morning he sent a messenger to invite Yúsuf Páshá to come and take a cup of coffee with him. The messenger, whilst on his way, met Yúsuf Páshá, and delivering to him the invitation, conducted him to the vezír's tent. On going into the tent his excellency addressed him in the most gracious and flattering terms, calling him his son, and so forth. "How could I drink my coffee without you, my son: you know how much I esteem you; come, let us retire to the back part of the tent, where we shall not be disturbed, and where we shall be at liberty to converse with more freedom. God willing, you shall have permission to-

morrow to march against the Kizilbáshes." After sitting down, and just as one of the domestics was handing Yúsuf a cup of coffee, and before he had time to lay hold of it, an officer announced to his lordship, Murád Páshá, that Hasan Beg, beg of Avlonia, had arrived. His lordship affected surprise, and said, it was a hard case to be so much oppressed with business as to have no time to enjoy himself for a few moments. "But there is no help for it," said he; "I must step out for a little, but do you, sir," (addressing Yúsuf Páshá) "make yourself comfortable." The grand vezír no sooner went out of the tent, than he desired three or four of his officers to enter the tent and take a dish of coffee with his son Yúsuf Páshá. These men accomplished the vezír's wishes. As the unfortunate Yúsuf Páshá was in the act of receiving a cup of coffee into his hand, he was tripped up by one of these assassins, when the rest, pouncing upon him, cut off his head, and placed it on a table. On the vezír's re-entering, he ordered his body to be thrown out, and sent word to the defterdár to seize on the whole of his property. When some of the soldiery heard of the fate of Yúsuf Páshá, they ran into his tent and seized on all the spoil they could find in it. Yúsuf Páshá's deputy and some of his principal followers were also put to death, and the rest of his associates fled.

After these things, the grand vezír waited on his majesty and informed him of what had taken place. "Let this suffice," said the vezír; "we need now proceed no farther. Even here, at Scutari, your majesty has been avenged on two of your most formidable enemies, to each of whom great forbearance has been shown. The province of Anatolia will now enjoy peace and quietness, and now the war with Persia may again be renewed." The emperor bestowed great praise on his vezír: the whole of the property that belonged to Yúsuf Páshá's followers, who had been put to death, was ordered to be confiscated; the beasts of burden, and several packages of valuable articles which had belonged to his lieutenant, or which were in his possession, were all sent over to the tulip-garden in Constantinople. The whole of the articles which had belonged to the rebels were afterwards sold, and the price of them put into the imperial coffers. The head of Mesli and the body of Yúsuf Páshá remained exposed for two days

in the Maidán. The sanják which had been promised to Meslí was conferred on Mohammed Beg, son of Zulfekár.

*Treachery in some of the grand vezír's domestics discovered.*

The grand vezír, Murád Páshá, had also premeditated the death of the lord high treasurer, Ahmed Páshá, usually called Etmekjí Zádeh, and, with this view, asked the emperor's consent to assassinate him. The emperor, though very reluctantly, yielded to the wish of his vezír, who immediately gave directions to his domestics and officers how to act in this matter when Ahmed Páshá, who was then expected from Constantinople, should arrive. He placed a sentinel on the shore, who, so soon as he saw Ahmed Páshá arrive, was to give him notice: the executioners put themselves in readiness. It was not long before the sentinel above-mentioned announced the approach of Ahmed Páshá; and informed Murád, that at the moment he was stepping on shore, a young man came sailing up to him in a boat, and put a sealed note into his hand. Ahmed Páshá no sooner read the contents of this note, the sentinel said, than he immediately sailed back for Constantinople. This information necessarily awakened surprise and doubt in the mind of the grand vezír, who secretly set about employing persons to find out the boatman who had been commissioned to convey the bearer of the note. The boatman, on his discovery, related to the grand vezír all the particulars as to the manner in which he had been hired, and the trouble he had endured before he met with Ahmed Páshá at the pier. The vezír asked him if he thought he should be able to recognize the young man who had delivered the note to Ahmed Páshá, and whose dress he had already described. He replied in the affirmative: stating, that he, the young man, on delivering the note, had gone directly towards the camp. The vezír immediately caused the boatman to change his clothes, and despatched him, with some of his officers, to the camp, to commence the search. The whole camp, from tent to tent, was minutely examined for several days without success, when a mere accident discovered the delinquent. Two of the vezír's domestics had fallen into a violent dispute, in which they mutually accused each other of treachery to their master.

The treasurer, Hasan Aghá, overheard them, and resolved to chastise them; when one of them whispered something into his ear. This induced the treasurer to conduct him into the presence of the vezír, when he confessed that he and four others of his fellow-domestics had been in the practice of receiving daily a pecuniary remuneration from Ahmed Páshá for giving him information of every thing they knew relative to their master's administration or conduct. The boatman was again called and confronted with this person, and immediately recognized him as being the very man who had given the note to Ahmed Páshá. His four accomplices were instantly executed, but he himself was not only pardoned, but rewarded with a spahilik and a handsome sum of money, for having disclosed the fact. He was, however, dismissed the vezír's service.

*The arrival of Yúsuf Páshá's and Mesli Chavush's wealth.—A display of ill-will and malevolence.*

The persons who had been sent to take possession of the property of Yúsuf Páshá and Mesli returned, two hundred camel-loads of property which had belonged to these two men having been regularly registered and taken possession of. The emperor, on hearing of this, remarked to Murád Páshá, the grand vezír, how successful they had been; not only in vanquishing the two potent enemies above alluded to, but in being also able to replace, in a great measure, the funds which had been expended in fitting out the expedition, by the spoil which had fallen into their hands. But the grand vezír, notwithstanding all he had done, had still many enemies. Mustafa Aghá, ághá of the palace; the lord high treasurer, Ahmed Páshá, or Etmekjí Záhé; and Mustafa Páshá, who had formerly been governor of Constantinople, took every opportunity they could to injure him. They talked amongst themselves, and in the presence of others, that Murád Páshá was entirely averse to his being employed against the Persians. "He is an old frail man," they said (sneeringly), "and the emperor will not force him." A hint of this conversation was communicated to his majesty by Muftí Mohammed Effendí. The emperor was displeased at the liberty they had taken with his vezír, and said, "He was a warrior, a most worthy hají, and a most active and useful vezír: he restored all Anatolia

to peace and tranquillity : he overcame and defeated the rebels, and delivered the country of the two formidable rebel-chiefs mentioned at the head of this section : he performed and achieved great deeds ; and nothing but envy," continued his majesty, " could have induced them so to speak of him. That he was by no means pleased with the liberty they had taken, and that the vezir might either go or stay, as he himself saw fit." This strong expression of his majesty's disposition silenced, for the time at least, the vezir's enemies.

After a stay of four complete months at Scutari, the troops returned to Constantinople just about the time of the full moon of the following or fifth month, and seven days before the commencement of autumn, or the time for entering into winter-quarters. Preparations for commencing hostilities against Persia in the following spring were immediately begun and attended to during the interval.

*Concerning the naval operations of the lord high admiral, Khalil Páshá.—  
Karah Jehennem taken.*

When Kapúdan (or lord high admiral of the Turkish fleet) Khalil Páshá sailed this year for the Mediterranean, and after he had cruised round the largest cape or promontory of Silivria, the second station from the metropolis, an Algerine vessel, commanded by a Genoese, met a Spanish pinnace, which had on board the son of the infidel viceroy of Sicily, a relative of the king of Spain, and about five hundred soldiers. This pinnace was destined to convey the young man to see his high relative, the king of Spain, and to carry certain valuable presents to the same. The soldiers, of course, were sent as a guard to both. When this pinnace met with the Algerine vessel, a most desperate battle ensued, which terminated in the capture of the former. Every living infidel found in this vessel, and the whole of the presents before mentioned, were according to custom distributed amongst the conquerors. The youth referred to was carried and delivered as a present to his majesty the Ottoman emperor. The person who had brought him to the admiral of the Turkish fleet received handsome rewards for having done so ; and the young slave, after he was carried to Constantinople, and actually presented before the emperor, was

instructed in the Moslem religion, which he readily embraced, and was placed in a special chamber of the palace.

The Turkish fleet now proceeded to Scio, where the admiral received intimation that six mountain-like vessels (of war), belonging to some of the infidel powers, had arrived from Egypt, and were then before Cyprus. The admiral went immediately in pursuit of them ; but heard or saw nothing more of them till he arrived before the haven of Baf, where he was informed that they had sailed to the coast of Syria, and had done some mischief in several places. The admiral, Khalîl Pâshâ, hastened with all the speed he could make, and by break of day he descried their top-sails, when they appeared to be about thirty miles distant. At mid-day, or some little time after it, he made up to them, when a tremendous cannonading commenced from both sides, which was continued till night intervened. The Turkish admiral, though night did come on, never slackened his movements, but continued to keep up with them, whilst the enemy, manifesting no symptoms of fear whatever, lighted up their lanterns, and made all the sail they were able. Day-light no sooner arrived, however, than the battle again commenced. A certain person in the Turkish fleet, a corsair, who had been brought from Barbary by the emperor, and on whom he had conferred the sanjak in the Morea, came along the admiral's ship, and advised him not to come into close contact with the enemy, but to continue playing upon them at some distance. This advice was attended to, and in a short time their masts and rigging were shattered and destroyed, and they themselves totally disabled. In this state they were boarded, and the troops on board, five hundred in number, one hundred and sixty guns, and two thousand muskets, were all seized and disposed of. Four of these captured vessels were conducted to Tamagusta (in Cyprus). One of the three vessels, which was called Karah Jehennem (Black-hell), and resembled a lofty castle, was sent to Constantinople as a trophy of the admiral's victory. The admiral, after having gained this victory, made the circuit of Sidon, Bairut, Alexandretta near Aleppo, and Tripoli, but did not meet any of the enemy in the whole of this tract. He returned to Tamagusta, took in provisions, and then set sail for the port of Constantinople, where a royal letter and a sable robe, tokens of his sovereign's approbation, awaited his



arrival. He also had the honour of kissing the royal hand, and was raised to the rank of vezír.

On the 9th of Rajab, in this year, the digging of the foundation of the noble mosque of Ahmed Sultán, in the At Maidán, was commenced; and on the 8th of Shevál all the ulemá, vezírs, sheikhs, and seyeds, assembled together to celebrate the ceremony of laying the first stone.

*Ancient treaty with France renewed.*

Franciscus Sawari, ambassador of Haricus, king of France (Henry IV.), at the court of Constantinople, at this time presented a request, that the existing treaty of friendship between the Ottoman emperor and the king of France should again be renewed. This was done; and the treaty which was entered into during the reign of the late Sultán Mohammed Khán formed the basis of the new one. By the new treaty, or rather, by this renewed treaty, it was stipulated among other things as follows: 1. That not only British and Venetian vessels, but also those of Genoa, of Portugal, of the two Sicilies, of Ancona, of Spain, and of Florence, trading to Turkey, should be permitted to do so only under the French flag; and that the commanders of all such vessels were to announce their arrival to the French consul of the place or port to which they might come for the purpose of trade. 2. That all persons belonging to France, going to visit Jerusalem, or the monks living at the Holy Sepulchre, or returning from the same, were to be allowed to go and return without molestation or interruption. 3. That the prohibition laid on spun and unspun cotton and on morocco-leather, during the reign of Soleimán, was to be removed. 4. The prohibition laid on bee's-wax and hides in the days of Mohammed Khán was also to be removed. 5. That all such specie as traders brought along with them was to be received at its usual or current value. 6. Vessels belonging to the French government, employed in carrying provisions from one country unfriendly to Turkey to another country of that description, were, though discovered by Turkish ships, to be allowed to pass unmolested; and, in the event of any vessel belonging to a French subject being seized whilst carrying provisions from any part of the Ottoman dominions, it was to be set at liberty, its freight was to remain untouched, and no more than

three hundred *akchas* were to be levied on the articles of lading. 7. French vessels entering into any of the havens belonging to the Barbary states were to be respected; and gunpowder, lead, sail-cloth, or any other articles which might be needed, were to be furnished them: for, formerly, the Algerines were in the habit of kidnapping and making slaves of French merchants, and seizing their property. Frequent prohibitions against this practice had been issued during the reign of Sultán Mohammed Khán; and the governor, who happened to be in office when an aggression of this kind took place, was deposed, and ordered to make full restitution. 8. Fishing vessels were to be allowed to fish, and also to take coral on the coasts of Algiers and Tunis. 9. All interpreters belonging to the French embassy were, according to ancient custom, to be free from all kinds of imposts or taxes. 10. French subjects, on paying the just dues to their ambassadors and consuls, were to have all disputes which might arise settled by them: they were to oppress or injure none. 11. Those having a dispute or law-suit with any consul, the dispute or law-suit was to be settled in Turkey. 12. The French ambassador on entering into the royal diván, or into the privy-council, was to have precedence, according to ancient custom, of the Spanish, and all other ambassadors whatever. 13. When a French prisoner or captive was discovered, and the consul declared him to be so, then his master or owner was to send him to Constantinople, where his case was to be thoroughly investigated. 14. Frenchmen, or persons belonging to any country subject to France, living in Turkey, were not to be required to pay a poll-tax. 15. Frenchmen living at any of the sea-ports belonging to Turkey, were not to be prohibited from appointing their own consuls; and such consuls were to be free from all taxes whatever. 16. If a dispute should happen to arise with a French trader, and an appeal was made to a *cazí*, the *cazí* was not to decide, unless the French trader had an interpreter present to interpret for him. 17. French ships sailing to or from Constantinople were to meet with no hindrances in the Dardanelles, or force or violence from any Turkish ship, whether of war or not, in the open or high seas. A friendly intercourse between vessels belonging to both nations, was to be faithfully observed. The end or conclusion of the treaty.

## EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1019, H.

*The grand vezír and commander-in-chief, Murád Páshá, goes to Tabriz.*

The victorious hero, the grand vezír and commander-in-chief, Murád Páshá, having fully completed all his preparations for opening the campaign in the east, re-appointed Gúrjí Mohammed Páshá governor of Constanti-nople, and passed over with his brilliant army to Scutari, on the 5th of the month Sefer. The commanding general, impatiently anxious to march against Persia, left Scutari about the beginning of Rabia I., and reaching the frontiers of that country, he was joined by the various beglerbegs with their respective troops, who had been appointed for this war. His army, in a short time, became greatly increased. Having heard that the sháh of Persia intended to take up his position in the vicinity of Tabriz, and as the winter season was nigh at hand, he hastened towards that place with all the speed he was able, and was not long in arriving in its neighbourhood. The inhabitants having all fled, and left the city exposed and desolate, the orthodox troops entered, and demolished or set fire to its buildings. The sháh having advanced nearer, shewed a disposition to try his strength, and posted himself upon a hill near the city. It was not long, however, before his courage forsook him; for in a general engagement, in which he was soon involved, his troops were defeated and put to flight, leaving the field to the victorious Moslems. Finding it therefore dangerous to stay much longer, and seeing that the winter was fast approaching, he felt it necessary to seek a place of repose and safety for himself and his army. In this way, and for these reasons, the war was necessarily postponed till the following year. In the meantime, however, the orthodox army did all the mischief they could to the enemy's country, and then returned, when his excellency the commanding general, Murád Páshá, went with the household troops to Diarbeker.

After defeating the sháh, his excellency, Murád Páshá, sent him a letter, to which the following was received as answer: " You say that we have violated the agreement made in the days of Sháh Ismael II. He was not long enough at the helm of affairs to cause any rupture. Your governors on

the frontiers having coveted the goods of our merchants, have murdered several of them. We have represented our grievances to your august majesty, the emperor, but no redress whatever has been afforded. The honour of our dignity cannot endure this, especially as we are now come, by the grace of God, into the possession of our paternal hereditary dominions. We have been braved by a Tátár army. Formerly, Islám Gheráf and Ghází Gheráf brought their armies as far as Shirván, but were defeated by the kizilbashs, and the two kháns made prisoners. If they should again attempt a similar invasion, they shall pay dearly for it; they shall meet their reward. The great wealth which the emperor of the Osmánlis can command is not unknown to us. We also have our heroes. The sight of your numerous hosts will not move them. If it be thought proper to abide by the conditions granted by Sultán Soléimán Khán to Tahmasp, my grandfather, then I am his august majesty's servant. When one is not brave and bold in his hostility, his friendship is not to be depended on. Our friendship may be contemplated. If, therefore, you are not satisfied, then let that which is behind the curtain of fate discover itself—Farewell."

His excellency, the grand vezír, wrote thus in reply: "You say you are braved or threatened by a vain-glorious army of Tátárs. A Tátár is like any other servant of the emperor. Though the two kháns were made prisoners, yet there is nothing strange or surprising in that. It has happened, not unfrequently, in the history of past events, that the vanquished have sometimes become conquerors. If you compute the number of those belonging to you who have been made captives, your motive for protracting hostilities must arise from some other cause; as that the power of the emperor appeared to have become less; or that he needed to make an apology. I also am a servant of the emperor. I have some hope my sentiments will have a good effect. I have entered in between you with the view of effecting a reconciliation. So soon; then, as the line of boundaries can be settled as it was formerly, I shall return: otherwise it is not his majesty's pleasure that one of the name of Abbas should remain a sovereign in the palace of the world. How many years has the Moslem army wintered in this quarter? The secret decrees of fate are seemingly developed or developing by this fact. God seems ready to take vengeance."

Some time before this answer was sent, however, Murád received a letter from the sháh by Shams-ud-dín Mohammed Aghá, proposing terms of peace. The grand vezír, after a long consultation about this matter, returned an answer by one Khairuddín Chavush, whom he sent along with the sháh's messenger when he returned. Very near a whole year passed away, however, before the sháh deigned to return any answer to the grand vezír's communications; but on the 27th of Jemadi II., when the Moslem army, numerous as the stars, arrived at Erzerúm with the view of protecting and defending the imperial possessions secured by treaty to the Ottoman government in the days of Sultán Murád Khán, at this date Khair-ud-dín Chavush and Mohammed Aghá arrived, bringing with them a letter from the sháh. This letter contained hardly any thing more than what his former one did respecting the grounds of complaint, which we need not again repeat. Suffice it to say, that the correspondence on both sides was carried on to a great length. It was said, that if there existed a real desire to promote an agreement, it should be in accordance with those stipulations entered into during former reigns; but it is quite evident the emperor had no intention of entering into engagements which would strip him of his possessions in those quarters which had been conquered during the reign of Sultán Murád Khán.

*Other events of this year.*

On the 2d of Rabia I., when the commanding-general removed from Scutari and had arrived at Mal dipa, he received intelligence of the death of his highness, Ahmed Gheráf, khán of the Crimea, and by his kind interference Jánbeg Gheráf was raised to the khánship. On the 15th of Rabia II. the ornamenting, repairing, and beautifying of the Kaaba and its dependencies were finished, which cost in all 18,141 miscals.\* The work was commenced last year and finished in this.

The lord high admiral, Khalíl Páshá, having again put to sea with the royal fleet, he appointed Mímí Beg, beg of Rhodes, chief over a number of other begs, and dispatched him off in one of the vessels which had been destined for conveying provisions from Alexandria. Mímí Beg accom-

\* A gold coin, a drachm and a half weight.

plished the task assigned to him, and afterwards fell in with an enemy's ship of war at a place called Funka, which he soon disabled and sunk. Khalíl Páshá himself, whilst continuing his cruizing voyage after vessels belonging to the infidels, pursued his course along Negropont, Modon, and Navarin. At one or other of these places he received intelligence from Mímí Beg, that five large vessels belonging to Tuscany were somewhere at sea near Cyprus. The admiral immediately steered away from the shores of the Morea towards Cyprus, which place he reached about the commencement of Rajab after a sail of eight days, and discovered the above vessels before Oghuz Búrni, near Báf, watching the arrival of the Egyptian fleet. The admiral, Khalíl Páshá, now prepared for battle; but in consequence of a heavy gale of wind which suddenly arose, he found it impossible, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, to come into actual contact with them. Night came on; the wind became more fierce and boisterous, and by daylight on the following morning no traces of the enemy's vessels could be discovered; nor was it known whither they had steered. The Turkish admiral now directed his course towards the island of Rhodes, and during the voyage picked up a stragglng adventurer and one or two of the enemy's ships. Soleimán Páshá, also, whom he had ordered away with ten vessels in search of the Tuscany ships, returned with two corsairs and two other vessels which he had taken in the roads of Messina and Malta, and joined the Turkish fleet, which directed its course to the port of Constantinople, having about eight prizes and a hundred captives to grace its entrance into that port; and when the admiral presented himself before the exalted diván, orders were given to confer on him a robe of honour for the services which he had rendered.

During the winter of this year messengers from the sháh arrived with letters containing humble proposals of peace, offering, at the same time, as one of the conditions, to pay an annual tax of two hundred yúks (loads) of silk for those provinces which had been wrested out of his hands, though they formerly formed part of the Persian dominions. He also requested that the government of Turkey, if it pleased, might have a beglerbeg over those provinces. The sagacious Murád Páshá wrote a report of these offers, and sent it along with the sháh's messengers to the court of Constantinople.

The purpose of his sending these ambassadors to the court of Istámbol was to excite the sháh's hopes, and thus give him a hare's sleep, while, in fact, he was meditating the devastation of the country on the return of spring.

*The death of Murád Páshá, grand vezír and commander-in-chief.—Nesúh Páshá succeeds to the premiership.*

At the time his excellency, the grand vezír and commander-in-chief, Murád Páshá, went to Tabriz, the válí of Diarbeker, Nesúh Páshá, sent a private letter to the emperor, stating that if he would remove Murád Páshá out of the premiership, and confer the seals on himself, he would, in return, make him a present of forty thousand gold pieces in ready money, and bear the expense, besides, of the increase of provisions which was to be made to the army. This letter the emperor enclosed in a government despatch for Murád Páshá, and sent it off by a courier. The commanding-general was no doubt surprised when he read the document which had been sent to him, and immediately sent for Nesúh. Nesúh, no way aware of the reason for which he had been invited, appeared before the grand vezír without suspicion. The latter handed to him his own letter to the emperor, and asked him if he could recognize the hand-writing. Nesúh, a bold and fearless Albanian, replied, without a moment's hesitation, it was his. "You ought, then," said the commanding-general, "to advance the gold you have promised, and provide the provisions for the army which you have also stipulated." Nesúh, no way embarrassed, showed his readiness to comply. Those officers who surrounded Murád Páshá, on this occasion, seemed very much surprised at what had transpired, and said, that many a commanding-general would have punished with death a fault much less than that which Nesúh had committed. "You are certainly," said they, in their surprise and indignation; "seeking to compass this base and worthless hypocrite's destruction?" His excellency, the commanding-general, with his usual prudence and good-nature, denied having entertained any such intention. "On the contrary," said he, "a bold, active and dexterous man of this kind may be very useful to the government; and what he has offered to do may prove to be of advantage." He added a few



more remarks which were intended to make an impression on the mind of his rival.

The winter-months passed away, and the time for again marching against the heretical sháh approached. The commander-in-chief caused his pavilion to be erected on the outside of the walls of Diarbeker. This very movement, inasmuch as it presaged hostility, alarmed the sháh to such a degree that he again sent to the commanding general a supplicating letter, similar to that he had formerly sent him, praying for a cessation of hostilities. The illustrious commander amused him with hopes, but was all the while making preparations for commencing the attack. But in the midst of all this, it pleased God to remove him by death. This event took place on the 25th of Jemadi I.; and Mohammed Aghá, ághá of the janissaries, was, in conformity to Murád's own desire, expressed some time before his death, appointed by the government, in the mean time, to take the command of the army. When Nesúh Páshá's friends heard of Murád's death, they used their utmost efforts to get him into the premiership, the great object of his ambition. On the 12th of the following month the wishes of both were realized by the seals of office being sent to Nesúh. He was made commander-in-chief of the forces at the same time.

The new grand vezír commenced his career in manifesting the same determined hostility against the sháh that his predecessor had done. This, of course, doubly increased the fears of the Persian king (the subversion of whose dominions had been the ardent desire of Murád Páshá), and led him to repeat his former intreaties: promising, at the same time, to submit to that subjection to the Ottoman emperor which had formerly been yielded to that monarch. But before these last proffers had been announced at Constantinople, the sháh requested to be allowed some delay to provide the quantity of silk which he had stipulated. This petition was incautiously listened to by the new minister, who, by this time, had disbanded his army. He was, moreover, much to blame for permitting the sháh's ambassadors to proceed to Constantinople. They, themselves, were importunate in demanding from the grand vezír permission to proceed thither on the object of their embassy, alleging that on the frontiers no proper settlement between the two countries could be effected; but by some

inexplicable conduct of the new grand vezír, a whole year passed away before matters were fully and properly adjusted.

In addition to the repairs and ornaments which had been bestowed on the Ka'ba, it was still found necessary to bind the pillars thereof in two different places with hoops, and for which purpose iron ones, plated with pure gold and choice silver, were provided. The aqueduct, which had been necessarily altered in the days of Soleimán, was furnished and ornamented with splendid boards. The emperor, being intent on beautifying the Ka'ba still more, removed into the garden of Stavros, where the contemplated work for the holy place might be carried on to better purpose under his own inspection. With this view he called thither all the goldsmiths, provided bellows, and the work immediately commenced under his own auspices, and the inspection of all his great men. This work, and the artizans employed on it, were afterwards removed to the garden of Davúd Páshá, where the emperor himself took up his abode; and when the whole was finished, in conformity with the pattern which had been chosen, a pavilion was raised in front of the works for his majesty, and a throne was erected within it on which he sat. In this position, surrounded by the mufti, ulema and his vezírs, he contemplated the articles which had been made; conferred robes of honour on those of his grandees of every rank and degree, who were present, as tokens of his royal munificence and approbation; and on the same day, raised Mohammed Aghá of the Salihdárs to the government of Egypt. About this same time the emperor ordered a shade or covering to be erected over the well near the arsenal.

#### EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1020, H.

##### *Naval affairs.*

The Turkish fleet, under the command of the lord high-admiral, Khalíl Páshá, after having sailed from the port of Constantinople in the spring of this year, was met by Mohammed Beg, beg of the Morea, who had been previously sent out for the purpose of capturing such hostile vessels as might fall in his way, and who informed the admiral that he had conducted a prize-vessel into the port of Eyúbia. The fleet now sailed for Rhodes,

where the ships were all properly pitched, and afterwards sailed for the island of Cyprus. Whilst the admiral was directing his course for this place, he received a royal letter, ordering him to convoy the ships destined for Egypt, which were conveying the articles for the Ka'ba. Just at this time he received intelligence that two hostile vessels had been seen sailing somewhere between Cyprus and Tripoli, and therefore he instantly dispatched Mímí Beg, beg of Rhodes, with twenty-five galleys, in search of them: but he himself conducted the Egyptian vessels half-way through the high seas, and then directed his course towards the shores of Anatolia.

Mímí Beg was not long in meeting with a hostile vessel, the commander of which was a Maltese and a pirate, and which, after some hard fighting, he took and brought into Rhodes, where he met with the admiral. He was afterwards sent with five galleys to conduct the váli of Egypt from Scio through the high seas towards Alexandria. Lálá Ja'fer Beg was also sent with ten vessels to cruize along the enemy's coasts, but was much retarded by contrary winds. Off the Cape of Maneah he met two vessels, who having instantly hoisted the enemy's flag, he prepared to attack them. The battle was long and bloody, and it was not till near night that he succeeded in overpowering them. The admiral, at the end of this voyage, sent these and four other vessels which had been captured, to the port of Constantinople. The two vessels taken by Lálá Ja'fer Beg, it was said, belonged to the Venetian state, and therefore, in consequence of that state being included in the last treaty made with France, a very great deal of talk and speculation took place.

On the return of the lord high-admiral to Constantinople, he was honoured with tokens of the imperial approbation for the services he had rendered. Within the three years he had acted as lord high admiral of the Turkish fleet, he captured more than fifty ships, small and great; the emperor, however, willing to show favour to Mohammed Páshá, who had been governor in Egypt, and whose exploits and virtuous deeds we have recorded, and who was every way worthy of the seals (though these, in the meantime, had been conferred on Nesúh Páshá), appointed him to the command of the fleet, that being the most honourable situation he had to confer on him at the time.

About the middle of Rabia II., whilst the emperor was enjoying himself in the gardens of Dávd Páshá, Sultán Selím was born, but died before the end of the month. Towards the end of the month Dhu'l hijja, the youngest of the princesses was united in marriage to Nesúh Páshá, and the contract was concluded in the presence of the reverend mufti and the vezírs of the court.

### EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1021, H.

#### *Naval affairs continued.*

In the month of Rajab of this year the lord high admiral, Mohammed Páshá, set sail with the royal fleet in search of prizes and further conquests. On reaching the coasts of Sidon and Bairut he found Maán Oghlí, a madman, who in the vanity of his mind had arrogated to himself princely titles, and had secured for himself some places of strength in the hilly part of the country, and who, moreover, had been a coadjutor of Jánbúlát Oghlí, and had done much mischief to the province of Syria. He afterwards entered into a friendly relation with the Turkish government, stipulating to pay an annual tribute of the products of the country he ruled, but had failed in fulfilling his engagements. The admiral, in consequence of this failure, landed some of his men with the intention of forcing Maán Oghlí into compliance. Force, however, was not necessary, for Maán Oghlí sent the admiral a submissive letter, accompanied by a larger sum than he had stipulated, as an equivalent for his neglect. The fleet returned to the port of Constantinople, and deposited in the imperial treasury the gifts and presents which had been received from Maán Oghlí. But it is to be observed that the admiral, whilst sailing through the straits of Súsam, allowed the enemy to seize no less than nine of his vessels; for which he was deposed. Khalíl Páshá was again made lord high admiral.

#### *Nesúh Páshá arrives in Constantinople along with the Persian ambassadors.*

After Nesúh Páshá had given the despicable kizilbashes hopes that their wishes would be complied with on the part of the Ottoman government, the sháh seized the opportunity thus afforded him, and instantly transmitted

to Nesúh at Diarbeker two hundred loads of silk under the charge of Kází Khán, his military judge, and the cazís of Kazwín and Isfahán, additional ambassadors, who arrived at Diarbeker on the 26th of Rabia II. Nesúh Páshá, without loss of time, set out for Constantinople with the above silk and the messengers, and reached it about the beginning of Shaban. The grand vezír met with the honours due to his high station, and the ambassadors with that respect which it was the custom to bestow. The emperor, who had been at Dávud Páshá, returned with a great show of military pomp and grandeur to the city on the 16th of Shaban. By his orders suitable lodgings were assigned to the Persian ambassadors, and amusements afforded them, and on the 21st they were permitted to appear in the royal presence. They presented to his majesty, the asylum of the world, the gifts and presents they had brought along with them from their master, receiving in return robes of honour, and being permitted to kiss the skirt of his majesty's robe.

The sháh had chosen his ambassadors from amongst the most cunning and shrewd of his learned men, as being the fittest for answering or asking questions in the royal diván, should they ever be called thither. When, however, they were actually introduced into that august assembly, they were overpowered with awe. Kází Khán, the foremost and most learned of their number, felt his inability to speak when he attempted to do so. "Please your majesty," said he, with a faltering voice which betokened the agitation of his mind, "Sháh Abbás is your slave"—here he paused, and could not utter another syllable, but delivered over their credentials to the grand vezír, who handed them to his majesty, and then retired. They were again, on the 26th of Ramazán, allowed to be present at the royal diván, and were thence conducted into the imperial hall of audience, where answers to their communications were delivered to them. They again received robes, according to custom, and were allowed to retrace their steps to their own country. Hasan Páshá, beglerbeg of Erzerúm, and Anjúlí Mustafa Chávush were ordered to accompany them, with the view of settling and determining the frontiers of Armenia; but the negotiations with Persia were not finally settled until the year of the Hijrah 1024.

On the 28th of Jemadi I. the grand sultán had another son born, *viz.*

Murád Khán, who was, on the 4th of Shevál, ordered, by a royal firmán, to be conveyed, according to ancient custom, to the royal harem, where the royal youths were brought up.

A beglerbegship was conferred on Karah Kásh Mohammed Aghá, chief of the falconers. About the middle of the last-mentioned month the grand princess, Ayesha Sultána, who was betrothed to the grand vezír, Nesúh Páshá, was sent home to him, on which occasion a most splendid banquet was given.

*Sultán Ahmed Khán takes a journey to Adrianople.*

His majesty the emperor, having resolved on taking a journey to Adrianople, on the 8th of Dhu'l kadah he ordered the members of the royal diván, his household troops, his right and left-hand troops of Egypt, and a body of spáhís to proceed on the journey from Dávud Páshá. Two days before this mighty cavalcade left Dávud Páshá, the princes of the blood, under the charge of Mustafa Aghá, ághá of the royal palace, set out. The grand vezír, Nesúh Páshá, Dávud Páshá, Yúsuf Páshá, Khalíl Páshá, also the reverend mufti, Mohammed Effendí, Dámád Effendí, the late mufti, Asa'd-ud-dín Effendí, who had been deposed for the share he had in the late tumult, Zekeria Effendí, Yahia Effendí, Mustafa Effendí, and Abdul Aziz Effendí, all the grandees of the empire, and a splendid detachment of troops of various kinds accompanied his majesty on his leaving Dávud Páshá for Adrianople. This royal procession or cavalcade proceeded by way of Felúri, where such of the members of the administration as did not accompany the emperor to Adrianople took their leave of him and returned. On the high priest of the empire, in consequence of the necessary absence of Mustafa Effendí, the royal chronologer, the duty of marking events devolved. The royal cavalcade rested the first night at Kúchuk Chekmeje, and the following day reached Búiúk Chekmeje. At daybreak it was again in motion. The immense number of janissaries, spáhís, and other troops in the royal retinue now commenced the sport of the chase as they proceeded on their journey, which sport was accompanied by the sound of drums and other instruments. In the afternoon they reached Silivria. The emperor rose about midnight, performed his devotions on the highway,

and was no sooner on horseback than his armourers and fencing-masters were again in their places. On reaching a place called Chorlí the royal party was allowed to rest there for the space of three days, in consequence of the fatigue which the emperor's soláks and other foot-soldiers had sustained from the rains which had fallen during the previous days. On leaving Chorlí they advanced to Sultání, but as there was no suitable mansion for his majesty at this place, a pavilion had been erected for his reception. From Sultání they advanced to Burgas. During this journey the horsemen exercised themselves in throwing the javelin: the vezírs and ághás, even to the grand vezír himself, took a share in the sports of the day. The emperor partook with keenness of the passing pleasures, exercising his fleet steed, throwing the javelin, and, in short, was the phoenix of the whole company of lancers. The sound of mirth and joviality was re-echoed by the vault of heaven. The grand vezír was so astonished at the feats which his majesty performed, that he descended from his horse, approached his majesty's stirrup on foot, and kissed it. It is quite certain that the display of horsemanship and throwing of the javelin which his majesty exhibited on this occasion was altogether unequalled. The royal party passed through Eskí Bába and Hafsa, and on the tenth day of the journey, about mid-day, reached Adrianople.

The emperor and his suite, after offering up their devotions at the Selimiya, mounted their horses and crossed the bridge of Soleimán, exhibiting a great display of pomp and grandeur, and arrived at the royal palace of that city. The ághá of the palace, Elháj Mustafa Aghá, and other reverend dignitaries belonging to the royal house, made such a display of silver-plate and gold vessels as to excite great wonder. In short, so plentiful were articles of this description, that, in passing into the royal apartments, one was obliged to walk over them; the whole of his domestics that waited on him were made rich. Here diváns were held, and petitions of all kinds attended to. Within the palace a mosque was fitted up. The emperor himself, his domestics, and hatchet-bearers, went out every day to follow the chase, accompanied by his hounds and panthers. He ordered his bostánjí báshí to search out the places which abounded with most game, over a district of three days' journey. Near the village



of Cholmek the field, as the chase was pursued by sultáns of other days, extended to the distance of several leagues. In or about the beginning of Dhu'l hijja, the emperor, accompanied by his domestics, the odabáshí Ja'fer Aghá, the salihdár Mohammed Aghá, the chakadár Ahmed, and the stirrup-holder Ismael Aghá, set out at night, and by daybreak reached a green meadow, where his majesty offered up his morning devotions. On a rising ground near this meadow a pavilion for his majesty had been erected, and from this spot he again commenced following the pleasures of the chase. The country every where around abounded with wild-game. The grey-hounds and panthers were let loose; such of the peasants as brought in the game that had been seized, received munificent rewards, by which many a poor peasant was made rich; eighteen deers, one hundred and fifty hares, forty foxes, and a vast number of pheasants were collected on this occasion; and rewards, according to the laws of the chase, were also distributed.

The emperor, on leaving the above place, entered into Sultán Murád Khán's garden with the view of taking some repose, whilst the whole of the game which had been taken was conveyed into his presence, when he ordered portions of it to be sent to the grand vezír and other ministers and military judges, who had not been present at this chase. In like manner, portions were sent to the royal harem, and to the other departments of the royal house. The sublime emperor then returned to Adrianople; but it was not long before he again engaged in the pleasures of the chase at a place called Kúrd Kíásí, about a stage distant from Adrianople, where the grand vezír prepared a splendid entertainment before the chase commenced. This chase took place about the beginning of the month of January, and all the vezírs and other officers of government were present at the convivial entertainment which Nesúh Páshá had given. The persons who had been employed in bringing in the game, whether whole or only the skins, received handsome rewards. The whole number of game taken on this occasion amounted to nine hundred and fifteen, and the number taken on former occasions to one thousand two hundred. The emperor enjoyed himself also in hunting along with his falconers, and outstripped the whole of his ághás, having caught nearly nine hundred birds. On meeting a peasant

he condescended to enquire into his circumstances—what injury or oppression he might be enduring: and if he returned an answer that manifested content, he was sure to meet with an act of benevolence on the part of the royal enquirer. When he entered into a village, the villagers met him with the most valuable of their goods and best cattle, and offered them as presents; but for the most part he sent some of his domestics to prevent this display of kindness. In fact, such was the generosity of his own benevolent nature that many of the poor natives were made rich by his liberality. Every Friday night, according to his custom at Constantinople, he called together ten commanders or governors of garrisons, and made them read together, or separately, ten chapters of the holy writings, during the first watches of the night. Thus did the emperor, by donations of gold and silver, and by enriching his mind with reading, secure to himself a rich remuneration.

#### EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1022, H.

##### *The emperor, Sultan Ahmed Khán, goes to Gallipoli.*

The emperor having resolved on taking a journey to Gallipoli, left Adrianople for the latter place on the 24th of Sefer. Nesúh Páshá, the grand vezír, provided every thing necessary for him at the different stations through which he was to pass, and prohibited every where the exercise of oppression and tyranny. His majesty passed through the meadows belonging to Mohammed Páshá, which happened to be the first station; and next day, on coming to a place called Degirmenlik, he entered on the chase. Having no meat, he and his suite were obliged to rest satisfied with the flesh of such birds as they took on the field. From Degirmenlik he moved onwards to Ieserarkinah, near which he spent two or three days more in hunting, having had his pavilion erected in a delightful spot in the neighbourhood of that place. After quitting this spot he continued his route till mid-day, when, impelled by the desire of the chase, he again betook himself to hunting through the fields, which he continued till he came to Karah Bekár, where he again joined the royal cavalcade, which had been moving slowly forward, and rested there for the night. On the following day he

halted at Altún Tásh, the day after at the station called Ahmed Páshá, and the third day at Kighanlu, near Mulghra, not far from the Kogher mountains, which so large a body of men as that which accompanied the emperor would find very difficult, if not impracticable, to cross. He, therefore, selected a certain number of janissaries and spáhís to accompany him across these mountains to Gallipoli, and sent the rest of his troops, with their ordnance and baggage, to Rodosjuk. They were, however, very much impeded in their march, owing to the fall of a great quantity of snow and rain. The emperor and his party, about three thousand in number, proceeded on their journey towards Urúsha, and on the following day came to Búlair, where they pitched their tents in a sort of plain near the tomb of the heroic Soleimán Páshá, where the emperor again engaged in the amusements of the chase. He visited the above tomb, distributed some alms, and ordered the coffin to be renewed and ornamented. The emperor, on reaching Gallipoli, ordered his tent to be erected in the open fields, whither the grandees of the city, about sixty of the ulemá, besides the officers of justice, came to salute his majesty and to welcome him to their city. About eight o'clock in the evening the emperor, accompanied by the grand vezír, those ághás who had been his companions in the sports of the field, and his domestics, entered the city, and took up his abode in a pavilion which had been previously erected for him near the fortress. Great rejoicings took place, and the firing of guns, both on the land and water, commenced; the priests read the service which is usually read on the emperor's birth-day, and many alms were dispensed among the poor and indigent. The pleasure-boat which the bostánjí báshí sent from Constantinople, was occasionally used by his majesty in taking a pleasure-sail.

*The emperor leaves Gallipoli for the imperial city.*

The grand sultán, not wishing to prolong his stay at Gallipoli, ordered the signal drum to beat, and left that city on the fifteenth day after his departure from Adrianople, *i. e.* on the 19th of Rabia I. When he reached Búlair, on his return, he again visited the tomb of the heroic Soleimán Páshá, which, by this time, had been renewed and decorated after the manner of that in the Ka'ba. The emperor laid a sword across the coffin,

which was covered over with cloth; ordered prayers to be offered up; distributed alms among the poor of the place, and afterwards prosecuted his march towards the royal city. He halted for the night at a place called Kowak. On the second following day, after descending from Bilban, he reached Rudosjuk, where the troops he left behind him, when he proposed crossing the Kogher mountains for Gallipoli, were waiting for his return.

*Mohammed Gherái arrives at Rudosjuk.*

Mohammed Gherái, who had made himself obnoxious to his brother, Salámet Gherái, the reigning khán of the Crimea, (who had joined himself to Sháhín Gherái, and, along with some Circassian tribes among whom he lived, had committed great depredations among the Crimean Tátárs,) no sooner heard of the death of Salámet Gherái, and the efforts which Jánbeg Gherái had employed to prevent either his or his brother's succeeding to the khánsnip, than he appeared with four hundred men in Romeili, and advanced with the utmost haste to solicit the support and countenance of the Turkish government in his own behalf. The grand vezír, on hearing of his approach, sent some of his ághás to meet him, and to bring him to Rudosjuk, where he had the felicity of kissing the emperor's foot. The emperor, after holding a diván, promised that equity should be done; and attached two kapújí báhís to two of Mohammed Gherái's officers, who were to bring the two contending princes to an agreement between themselves.

The emperor's nativity was again celebrated at Rudosjuk. At night candles were lighted up, and muskets were fired. The front of the imperial pavilion was brilliantly illuminated with a vast number of lamps. On the following day he set out for Kopurjí Cháier, passed through the village of Amúrcha, and on the third day arrived in the plains of Silivria. Here he was met by the kápudán, Mohammed Páshá, the bostanjí báhí, Hasan Aghá, with his whole body of bostánjís. Many of the ulema and servants of the government came to this place also, to welcome him back. In the evening, as the emperor was going towards the gardens of Silivria, he was met by his reverence the mufti Mohammed Effendí, and other learned

men. When the mufti saw him approaching, he advanced, kissed the hem of his garment, and pronounced a blessing on his head. The sultán, on the other hand, no sooner saw the venerable prelate drawing near to him, than he checked the steed on which he was mounted, in order to allow him time to perform the above ceremony, and then invited the mufti and his learned associates to mount and accompany him in his jaunt, when they all entered into a variety of conversation. Other ulemá, and heads of seminaries of learning, came also on this occasion and paid him their respects. The emperor, after meeting with so many tokens of esteem from his learned subjects, ordered preparations to be made for going to the gardens of Dávud Páshá. The night on which he arrived at these gardens the whole space occupied by his soldiery of various kinds was brilliantly illuminated, and the small and great guns fired a salute. On the 24th of Rabia I. he entered the capital, whilst his troops and retinue formed a beautiful and orderly procession. In a very few days afterwards, however, *i. e.* on the 1st of Rabia II., he passed over to his palace at Scutari, where he followed the amusements of the chase. Sometimes he went to Stavros, sometimes to the port of the metropolis, and sometimes to the gardens of Dávud Páshá, in pursuit of the same sport and amusement.

On the 5th of Rajab of this year he went to the gardens of Chatalijéh, and returned to Constantinople on the 12th of the same. On the following day, after having spent the night comfortably, he went to the Halkalú gardens, where he gave audience to the grand vezír. From these gardens he retired to those of Dávud Páshá, and thence returned to the imperial palace.

About this time seven of the chaste and unsullied daughters of the emperor's uncles, brought up in the old palace, were given in marriage to rich and powerful ághás, who were favourites of his majesty. On the 23d of Rajab the emperor removed to the gardens of Beshektásh, where he either spent his time in the library, or in the orchards of that place, and returned to his own palace in the month of Shaban, where, night after night, he attended to the duties of religion, and to the distribution of alms. He ordered Súfí Mustafa Effendí, his own Imán, to draw out a statement from authentic documents of all his royal children; and a list of twenty-six

names, male and female, was returned to him. To each of these he sent by this prelate, and others who were joined with him in the commission, immense presents; and as many of them as had arrived at the age of puberty, received a suitable provision.

During the month of Ramazan he was most assiduous in offering up his devotions; and on the Leilet ul kadr,\* he made such a distribution of money and of other benefits as had never been exemplified in any of his predecessors. After the termination of the fast, the usual salutations were attended to, and he again began to enjoy the pleasures which his palace afforded.

It having been alleged that the use of wine had been the cause of the disturbances and tumults which had taken place in the city from time to time, the pious and religious emperor, in order to put a stop to this forbidden and pernicious practice throughout the empire, ordered the laws to be enforced. The taverns were a perfect nuisance; and therefore the keepers of them had their licenses taken from them: the sellers of wine were obliged to flee, and their houses or shops were thrown down, without paying any regard whatever to the vast advantage which accrued to the government from this traffic; because of the great evil which it had done to the morals of the inhabitants. It was not long, however, before the use of wine again became as general as ever.

*A messenger from Holland arrives in Constantinople.*

Messengers, with valuable gifts and rich presents for the Ottoman emperor, from the váli of Holland, a country bordering on the ocean on the north of France, with some large merchant-vessels carrying a variety of merchandize from the same country, arrived this year at the port of Constantinople. When the owners or skippers of these vessels asked leave to depart, they were allowed to do so, and so also were the messengers or ambassadors who had been honoured with lodgings in the imperial gardens of Scutari.

Kitanjí Omar Páshá was commissioned by the Ottoman government to

\* The night of power, the 27th of Ramazan, when the koran began to descend from heaven.

proceed to Walachia and Moldavia, with the view of fixing and settling the authority of the Voivodas who had been appointed by government in these provinces, for since the days of the apostate Michael these countries had been in a most unsettled state. The chief of Transylvania, during the troubles which reigned in these two provinces, found means to attach some few fortresses to the jurisdiction of Temisvar; but when he learned that Sultán Ahmed Khán was in Adrianople, he became terrified, and instantly relinquished Lipova and Yanova, which of course were taken possession of by some of the border chieftains.

Afterwards, when a Polish army entered the territories of Moldavia, the governor of Silistria, Delí Hasan Páshá, marched against it and routed it.

*A mosque is built in the garden of Stavros.*

No mosque having hitherto been built in the garden of Stavros, orders were issued this year to erect one, besides some other necessary erections. The household troops and the attendants of the grand vezír finished the whole in the space of forty days. The emperor sometimes resided in this garden, and not unfrequently amused himself by sailing in his pleasure-boat in the straits of Constantinople.

*Sultán Ahmed Khán resolves on a second journey to Adrianople.*

Sultán Ahmed Khán, of restless disposition, like his great ancestor, Sultán Selím Khán, resolved on again visiting the city of Adrianople. Accordingly the grand vezír, Nesúh Páshá, the nobles, the emperor's favourites, and ághás of the stirrup, were ordered, on the 9th of Shevál, to repair a second time to Adrianople. In conformity to custom, the vezírs and ulemá accompanied his majesty as far as Dávud Páshá, where they all took leave of him and returned to the city. At Burghas the emperor took up his lodgings in the mansion of Mohammed Páshá, the martyr, and attended the chase. On his first going forth to this sport, and whilst endeavouring to raise the wild beasts, a huge boar, resembling the devil, presented himself, and in his fury and rage terrified every one away: the emperor alone had courage to seize a spear, and, like a flash of burning light, attacked the



ferocious animal. The grand vezír hurried forward to aid his master, and on finding, brave and powerful as the sultán really was, and though he had succeeded in stupefying the wild beast, that he had not yet killed it, immediately thrust his spear into the body of the wild boar, when the dogs instantly fell upon it. It amused the emperor exceedingly to see the manner in which the dogs applied their teeth to the carcass of the wild beast. In three days after this event the emperor reached Adrianople, where he spent the winter, alternately following the chase and attending to religious solemnities.

*Nesúh Páshá's enmity to the lord high treasurer, Etmekjí Zádeh.*

*Ahmed Páshá.*

Nesúh Páshá, the grand vezír, having a second time accompanied Sultán Ahmed Khán to Adrianople, acquired, by his apparent diligence in serving his royal master, a peculiar intimacy with him; but Etmekjí Zádeh, from his office in the vezírship and in the treasury, stood in the way of his arriving at the possession of absolute sway. Nesúh Páshá thirsted for this; and being, moreover, a man without the least virtue, he could not endure to see the prosperity of Etmekjí Zádeh, and therefore not only hated and envied him, but also sought opportunity to ruin him. Thinking he had something to accuse him of, and by which at least he hoped to lessen him in the esteem of his master, he represented to his majesty the pusillanimity which he discovered during the late war with Persia. This he did whilst travelling to Adrianople, and recurred to this part of Etmekjí's history so frequently, that his majesty determined on depriving him of his office as lord high treasurer, and also of the government of Caramania, to which he had been appointed. Nesúh had the envious satisfaction of seeing the object of his hatred humbled; but by the intervention of Etmekjí's friends in about a week afterwards he was raised to the government of Aleppo, and Lunka Zádeh was made lord high treasurer in his room: Abdalbákí Páshá was made second treasurer, and Kalandar was made third.

*Begzádeh, a celebrated spáhí, assassinated.*

Etmekjí Zádeh having been, as before observed, appointed to the govern-

ment of Aleppo, the grand vezír sent him off to take charge of it. About this time Begzádeh, one of the most celebrated spáhí chiefs, a native of Khorassan, and a man of intrepid bravery and fortitude, incurred the displeasure of the grand vezír. This spáhí, when he first entered the service, had only a salary of twelve akchas; but by his bravery, and other splendid talents which he possessed, he came at last to have the command of twelve thousand spáhís, who were entirely obedient to his will. This Begzádeh came to Constantinople when Nesúh Páshá was there, but feared to have any interview with him. At length, however, Soklún Meslí Aghá, the ághá of the janissaries, undertook to introduce him to the grand vezír, promising by an oath no injury would happen to him. The other consented, and the vezír, after he was introduced to him, took special care to show him every mark of esteem and respect due to his character and station, promising, at the same time, to attend to all his requests. This state of affairs continued for about four months, during the whole of which time Begzádeh had constant access to the grand vezír, and shared in his apparent kindness. The deceitful vezír, however, had formed the plan of murdering him. He several times proposed to the ághá above-mentioned to perpetrate this deed, but Meslí pleaded his promise and oath, and would not consent to be guilty of so base a crime. The grand vezír was determined, and under the pretext of settling some business which related to the Turcomans, sent off Begzádeh to Aleppo. Immediately after his departure for that city the grand vezír sent an order to Etmekjí Zádeh, the válí of Aleppo, to take away the life of Begzádeh. The order was thus: "Your head or his." This was sent off by the notorious executioner, Káish Mohammed. The válí no sooner received this peremptory mandate than he, though reluctantly, entered into the views of the grand vezír, because, in fact, he felt afraid of him. On the last day of one of the festivals, as Begzádeh was reclining on a pillow and trimming his beard, Káish Mohammed rose up and left the company, but soon returning again with a hatchet he had in readiness, with one blow cut off one of his ears, when instantly Begzádeh, though a powerful man, fell down on one side and gave up the ghost. The grand vezír rewarded Káish Mohammed for this deed of blood with an ágháship, and sent the hateful wretch into Romeili. He was a most merciless, blood-thirsty villain, and

the instrument by which very many lost their lives. He at last, however, perished by the hands of the kizilbáshes.

*Other events and circumstances of this year.*

On the 10th day of Moharrem, Chokadár Khás, Mohammed Aghá, was appointed to the command of the janissaries, and in four or five months afterwards was raised to the government of Romeili. One of the seven daughters of the late Sultán Murád Khán was given away in marriage, and the rest of them were similarly disposed of. On the 1st of Shevál, the royal prince, Sultán Hasan, was born, and Omar Aghá was sent to Adrianople, where the emperor then was, to inform him of the birth of this prince. In the month of Shevál, at the time the emperor was preparing to go to Adrianople, and when he entered into the garden of Floreiya, he conferred on Khalíl Páshá the second kapúdánship. The guardianship of the foot of the throne was given to Gúrjí Mohammed Páshá, who had been deputy of Constantinople. A royal edict to build ten more galleys at the royal expense, was issued this year. An order was also issued, during the time the emperor was at Adrianople, to build a palace in the royal garden, near the port of Constantinople. On the 25th of Shevál, the day on which his majesty reached Adrianople, the Bostánjí báshí, Hasan Aghá, who had remained in Constantinople, received the sanják of Sefd (in Syria). The country adjacent, which belonged to Maán Oghli, who by this time had fled to Europe, was annexed to Sefd. Kashiki Hasan Aghá was made Bostánjí báshí. The lately-created válf of Sefd went to Adrianople to do homage to the emperor for the dignity and honour conferred on him, and afterwards set out for his new government.

The emperor, finding himself in a great measure at ease and free from care, determined on taking some recreation in a pleasure-boat or yacht, and therefore ordered one to be constructed. The whole of the river Tonja, as far as his place of hunting, was cleared of wood, stones, and every thing that might obstruct the passage of his yacht, by janissaries, spáhís, and other soldiers, which they accomplished in a short time. He ordered the boat to be brought from Constantinople to Rudosjuk, which was transported from that place to the river Tonja on sledges. After the new yacht

was painted and ornamented, he employed it for the purpose for which it had been made. He ordered another, of a peculiar construction, to be conveyed from Gallipoli to Adrianople.

*The treaty of peace with Persia adverted to.*

This year a copy of the articles of agreement entered into with the sháh of Persia was written out by the reverend mufti, Mohammed Effendí, and sent to the court of Persia. In conformity to ancient treaties it was agreed : 1st, That the Persians should make use of no expressions of contempt, of execration, of reproach, or of abuse against the chosen friends and contending heroes of the faith, the prelates and priests of Islamism, and the orthodox followers of the same. 2d, None worthy of the name of Iránís, of whatever class (according to the agreement which sháh Tehemasp had promised to abide by), were to be obliged to hear wicked or profane reading, or explanations (of the law); and all of this name who wished to enter the Osmánlí dominions, were not to be prohibited. 3d, Such Musselmans as were in service or in garrisons at the making of this treaty, were not to be vexed or oppressed. 4th, The frontier lines were to remain as they were in the reign of Sultán Selím Khán. 5th, The estates which belonged to Sanjár Oghlí, of happy memory, were to be added to the territories of Baghdád, without any resistance being offered. 6th, When the chief cities in the district of Sheherirúz were set free from the power of Helú Khán, they were never again to receive any aid or assistance from the Persians. 7th, All pilgrims, travelling from the east by the way of Aleppo and Shám, were not to be allowed to travel by the road of Baghdád and Bassora, without a sufficient guard. 8th, To Shamkhál Khán and other rulers in Daghístán, who from ancient times had been on a friendly footing with Turkey, or to any part of their dominions, no injury was to be done; they were also, by the same treaty, to sustain no loss whatever. 9th, When once the Turkish fortresses or redoubts, which had been erected for the purpose of preventing unfortunate Russians\* from passing and re-passing, were relinquished, the sháh was, under no pretext whatever, to place garrisons in them. 10th, The frontiers were to be protected.

\* Russian pilgrims either going to or coming from Jerusalem.

In conformity to the spirit of this treaty, the frontier páshás, *viz.* the váli of Baghdád, Mohammed Páshá, and the beglerbeg of Wan, Mohammed Páshá, received an imperial commission to proceed and settle, along with the Persian commissioners, the line of frontier between the dominions of the Ottoman emperor and those of the sháh of Persia.

#### EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1023, H.

##### *The Moslem Emperor returns to Constantinople.*

In the commencement of the month of Moharrem the happy and fortunate monarch Sultán Ahmed Khán began to retrace his steps towards his royal residence at the Sublime Porte. The troops who had accompanied his majesty to Adrianople were, previous to his own departure, allowed to return home. His majesty himself accomplished the journey in fifteen days, seven of which he rested, having arrived at Constantinople about the middle of the month. The day on which he entered the city two of his sons, Sultán Osmán and Sultán Mohammed, mounted on swift chargers, went out to meet their royal father, and returned along with him, riding in front of the janissaries. Some few days after his arrival in the royal residence he retired into the Terskháneh, and resided for a while in the mansion which he had ordered to be erected in it, and was now completed. Being naturally fond of this garden, he caused it to be decorated with flowers and shrubs taken from the interior garden of his seraglio or harem.

##### *The admiral, Khalíl Páshá, goes to sea.*

The admiral Khalíl Páshá set sail with forty-five vessels for Beshektásh, whence, after a few days' riding, he proceeded to the island of Scio, which he reached after a sail of twenty-two days. Here he learned that no less than twenty-seven hostile ships had entered a harbour belonging to the island of Skyro, but which, he afterwards heard, had gone to the island of Súsam. Thither he directed his course, having been previously joined by Mímí Beg, kápudán of Rhodes, with twenty galleys: but before the Turkish fleet could make up to them they escaped through the straits of the islands

of Andro and Istendil (Tino), and made their way to some of the sea-ports belonging to his holiness the pope. Khalíl Páshá on the 2d of Jemadi I. arrived before Corone, passed Modon, and on the 15th reached Avarin (Navarin): thence he sent out two vessels for the purpose of reconnoitring the coast. After having got all his ships properly pitched at this place, he again, on the 21st, set sail with fifty-nine ships of various size towards the shores of the infidels. After passing Messina, he reached the island of Malta on the 28th of the month; on the same day he effected a descent on that island.

Along the shore, at the distance of about a mile from each other, a set of towers had been erected, which, by means of igniting in succession a certain quantity of gunpowder in each, communicated a signal to the chief fortress of the island. This was done on this occasion; and in a very short time some thousands, foot and horse, came rushing forth to meet the invaders, when a most terrible battle ensued, and was maintained till after mid-day. Several hundreds of these infidels became food for the sword, and a good number of them were taken prisoners. The deputy grand master, the lords of Malta, with several other persons of distinction, fell in the struggle. The heroic and warlike Moslems followed up their advantages to the very walls of their chief city or fortress; burned the whole of their harvest of anise and cummin; cut down their olive and other fruit trees; carried off their flocks of sheeps and herds of cattle; and reached the fleet at the time of the evening prayers. The fleet now sailed past the city, when each galley, as it passed, fired a broadside against it, and directed its course towards Tripoli in Barbary; but not before they had committed some more mischief on another part of the island.\*

\* The letters which had been sent from the fleet stated that the descent had been altogether sudden and unexpected at first. The fleet, these letters said, on arriving before or opposite a monastery on the island not far from the city, the admiral forbade Mímí Beg to leave his ship; but he landed his janissaries and other troops, who as soon as they individually reached the shore, such was their eagerness, cried out *Allah! Allah!* as they proceeded; which so alarmed the inhabitants that they all fled into the city with their servants. The Moslems, on reaching the monastery, were obliged, by reason of the cannon which played upon them from the fortress, to give up; and because they found it impracticable to keep the footing they had gained, they were constrained to return to their vessels. Forty or fifty were left on the island, but they

The fleet, as we have already observed, sailed for Tripoli. The distance between Malta and Tripoli is two hundred and twenty miles, and the fleet did not reach the harbour of the latter place till the 2d of Jemadi II., having left Malta about the end of Jemadi I. The inhabitants of Tripoli were at this time in a most disorganized state. One Seferde'á had usurped the government, had been guilty of murder, robbery, and every species of oppression, and even refused to permit the Turkish fleet to enter the harbour. By wise and prudent management, however, this Seferde'á was induced to come on board the *báshtirdeh* (the admiral's ship), when his person was instantly secured and placed in irons. His associates and followers, on learning the fate of their chief, shut themselves up in the city, determined on resisting and fighting to the last. But by the timely mediation of a number of reverend fathers their misconduct was overlooked, and the city was again restored to its former government. The whole of the property and wealth which the rebel Seferde'á had accumulated was registered, and afterwards confiscated. After these proceedings had ended, the admiral ordered his pavilion to be erected on shore; held a council for examining into the nature and extent of the crimes which the rebel-prisoner had committed, and proofs of which the nobles, ulema, and the people in general furnished in abundance. The admiral, after hearing all the evidence which was brought before him in regard to Seferde'á's crime, and finding that the general voice demanded his life, ordered him to be brought forward, caused his crimes to be recorded, and afterwards hanged him in front of the gate of the city.

The fleet left Tripoli on the 10th of the last-mentioned month, and arrived before Navarin on the 14th of the same. The ships which had been sent out to reconnoitre the enemy's coasts joined the fleet at the last-mentioned station, bringing along with them a prize laden with wheat.

effected no good whatever. The fleet, we are told on the same authority, seized, between Messina and Malta, on its return, a vessel, the crew of which informed the admiral that the twenty-seven ships he had been in quest of had entered Messina, where there were several other vessels belonging to the enemy.



*Punishment inflicted on the infidels of Manefah.*

The Turkish fleet reached Yaswah on the 24th of the last-mentioned month, where it was joined by three vessels belonging to Tunis, commanded by Murád Beg. The inhabitants of the mountain of Manefah, in the Morea, had formerly been visited by an army, which had taken ample vengeance on them for their hostile and rebellious spirit. Such of them, at that time, as had not perished, or who had not been made captives, submitted themselves, and were pardoned: but ever since the year 1020, forgetting their former visitation, and the promises which they then made, they have manifested nothing but a spirit of rebellion. Arslán Páshá, with some Romeilian troops, was sent to chastise them and bring them again under subjection. The admiral, who had had orders to render him, towards the end of the voyage, every assistance, no sooner reached Yaswah than he landed a number of his troops for this express purpose. The páshá proceeded with this reinforcement to the mountains, and soon brought the rebels to their senses, having killed many of them and taken a number of others prisoners. They agreed to pay the ordinary taxes, and promised never to show insubordination in future.

*Mímí Páshá falls a martyr.*

About this time a sword and two robes of honour were transmitted to the kápudán páshá, Khalíl Páshá, from the court of Constantinople. Ma'áraf Beg, called Sanjován Oghlí, and the beg of Damietta, Mímí Beg, were ordered, towards the end of Rajab, to go and guard the island of Borák. After having reached this island they ordered all their vessels to be properly pitched, and went to wait on the governor of the island. On their return, however, to their ships they were suddenly attacked by a party which had belonged to an enemy's vessel, when, by the permission of God, Mímí Beg fell a martyr. The son of Sanjován made his escape in some way or other, but their two vessels were carried off by the enemy. The admiral, on the 10th of Ramazán, reached the island of Mewkina, where he captured a prize; on the 14th he arrived at Scio, and reached the port of Constantinople on the 25th of Shevál.

*The cossacks become troublesome.*

The tribe of cossacks had been in the habit of coming along the Black Sea in skiffs, and ravaging the villages on the banks of the Danube, near the mouth of that river. In the month of Rajab of this year a party of them, conducted by some apostate runaways, came and reduced the city of Sinope, called Medinet-alashuk, situate on the shores of the Black Sea, in the province of Anatolia. The inhabitants of this ancient city were no way apprehensive of danger from these cossacks, and before they had the least intimation of their approach were attacked by this horde, who slew every Muselman that fell in their way. They plundered and ransacked the city, made its families slaves, and then set fire to the buildings. In short, they not only desolated the whole place, but robbed and spoiled every house and family in the neighbourhood, and afterwards set off in their boats. Ibrahim Páshá, who had been sent to guard the mouth of the Danube, hearing of the fate of Sinope, immediately prepared his boats, sixty in number, and sailed down one of the outlets of that river with the view of intercepting them, but in vain. The accursed infidels heard of this fleet of boats that was waiting their arrival, and therefore, before coming up to the mouth of the river, they drew to shore, fixed their boats on a kind of drays, and proceeded overland towards a part of the river higher up. Though they found means of avoiding Ibrahim and his fleet of boats, they did not escape the Tátárs. A party of this hardy and fearless race of men fell upon them just as they were in the act of launching their boats, and recovered the whole of the property and families they had carried off with them. Numbers of these barbarians perished in the struggle, and others of them were made prisoners. Some few of their boats which had succeeded in getting off before the Tátárs came upon them, were pursued by Ibrahim, and were either sunk or taken. In the beginning of Ramazán twenty cossacks were sent as trophies, under the charge of some of Ibrahim Páshá's men, to the Sublime Porte. It is said, that one messenger after another had arrived in Constantinople with information respecting the assault which Sinope had sustained from the cossacks; and that when the emperor asked the grand vezír, Nesúh Páshá, concerning the truth of the matter, he declared, though

falsely, that he knew nothing about it. The emperor, however, was not satisfied with this answer, and applied to the learned mufti for information, who unhesitatingly told him the truth. The emperor was exceedingly angry at the grand vezír for the falsehood he had told him.

*Some fortresses built on the Ouzi (Borysthènes).*

About this time Ahmed Páshá, the beglerbeg of Romeili, crossed the Danube with his provincial troops, and proceeded, in conformity to imperial orders, to the ford of Aksú, the place at which the mischievous cos-sacks in Moldavia were accustomed to cross, where he was ordered to erect two fortresses, one on each side of that ford. On arriving at the place of his destination he found that the persons who had been appointed to provide materials for the proposed buildings had, in fact, done nothing. The journey to Aksú was a pathless desert of twenty days' march, and presented nothing but brackish water and barrenness the whole way. The páshá sent a report to the emperor of the state of things, and was recalled; but as the infidels had been threatening another irruption, the páshá repaired and strengthened all the other fortresses in that quarter. About this same time, also, Karah Kásh Mohammed Páshá, beglerbeg of Kaniza, rebuilt or repaired about ten of the fortresses which had formerly been wrested from the infidels, and had lain waste or unoccupied ever since. Three new ones were added to these, and whilst employed in erecting them the infidels became alarmed, and sent friendly letters; because, in fact, they began to anticipate, when they perceived the activity of the Osmánlis, that the peace was at an end.

*Concerning Maán Oghlí.*

Maán Oghlí Fekhr-ud-dín governed the whole of the country along the shores of Syria as far as the confines of Sefid. He had stipulated, as before observed, to send annually a certain portion of the productions of that country to Constantinople, which stipulation he generally fulfilled. It happened, however, that in consequence of some misunderstanding which had taken place between him and the grand vezír, Nesúh Páshá, at some former period, in order to vex and perplex the vezír, he absolutely declined

granting the stipulated tribute. The vezír on this account, and with the view of utterly destroying him, ordered the válí of Syria, Vezír Háfez Páshá, who had been six years governor in that province, to march against him with the troops of his own province, those of Anatolia, of Caramania, and of Diárbeker. This hostile movement against Maán Oghlí commenced in 1022, and was repeated this year also. But Maán Oghlí's castles were all situate among rocks and mountains, and garrisoned by the heretics of the country; he had besides a great armed body of many thousands of the detestable Durzís, \* whom he kept as his guards. His principal fortresses were Shátuf, Paneiyas, Dair al kamar, and some others of a similar description, all which were filled with armed men. Yet when any of these places were threatened by the Osmánlí, and any of Maán Oghlí's segbáns showed themselves, their heads were made to roll on the ground. Owing, however, to the inaccessible position of his castles, and to their being well supplied with every warlike apparatus, the Osmánlí general, Háfez Páshá, found it imperative to use every exertion to press Maán Oghlí, especially as the winter coming on, would make it necessary for him and his army to retire into winter-quarters. The result was, that these mountaineers began to feel the want of provisions, and Maán Oghlí, perceiving the determined vigour with which the Osmánlí general carried on his operations, to save his own life became a French proselyte, or at least ingratiated himself into the favour of the French, promising he would assist a French army in acquiring a conquest in the environs of Jerusalem. He accordingly set sail in a French vessel from the nearest port and arrived in Europe, whence he wrote to his followers an account of the esteem and favour he had met in Europe. Amongst other falsehoods, he told them, in order to encourage them to continue their resistance and keep possession of their strong-holds, that he was on the point of returning to them with a victorious army in French ships provided by European princes: he also promised his segbáns their wages.

Vezír Háfez Páshá, in the meantime, continued to press the strong-holds of Maán Oghlí; and having been strengthened by an augmentation of new

\* A rude race living in the mountains of Lebanon and in Kurdistan.

forces, he was enabled to lay siege to them. He was, moreover, supplied with artillery from Constantinople, which he applied so effectually against the strong-holds of the enemy, that he succeeded in reducing some of them, whilst others submitted of their own accord. He sent an encouraging message to Maán Oghlí's segbáns, and two thousand of them joined the Osmánlí army. The castles which were in the most elevated and inaccessible situations stood out for a while, but they also offered to capitulate on terms which they deemed necessary for their own safety. At this moment, however, five light ships, conveying a number of troops and cannon for Maán Oghlí's garrisons, arrived. The infamous wretch, Maán Oghlí's deputy, came out to receive these cannon, and was in the act of having them conveyed into his strong-hold, when Háfez Páshá, who had received a hint of what was going on, sent a pretty strong party with the view of seizing the cannon. The mountaineers no sooner saw the Osmánlís advancing upon them than they fled back into their fastnesses, and the French or Europeans ran to their ships, leaving every thing behind them a prey to the royalists, who were commanded by Hasan Páshá. These mountaineers still trusted, however, that Maán Oghlí himself would, some time during the winter, arrive to their aid with his auxiliary army from Europe. This story gained ground. The Durzís, to the amount of ten thousand, fortified the strong places in the mountains, and secured, moreover, some narrow passes belonging to Shuf (in Syria). The Moslems, however, never ceased to carry on their operations. These Durzís went in a body to a place called Aien-rahela; and whilst Háfez Páshá was engaged in laying siege to some of their strong-holds, Hasan Páshá joined him with his body of troops. A most tremendous battle now ensued between a body of these Durzís and the Moslem or royal army, in which two hundred of the former lost their heads; the rest fled to the mountains, and their dwellings were all burned to the ground. Again, on the same day, those of the same race who had assembled in the neighbourhood of Kufra-nahm (Capernaum) were scattered, and at Ebn Maherin three hundred more of them were deprived of their heads: one of their chiefs, called Izz-ud-dín, was among the slain. A division of the Moslem troops was also sent to Dair al kamar, where about three

hundred more of these Durzís perished. Násir-ud-dín, chief of this fortress, came to the pavilion of the commanding-general, and implored him to spare his life, which he granted him.

At the taking of Dair al kamar, the Osmánlís experienced great difficulties, before they gained the victory which crowned their arduous efforts; and which was chiefly owing to their having changed their mode of assault for that of the springing of mines. One thousand five hundred of the Segbáns that had joined the Moslems were sent to meet Hasan Páshá son of Seif, governor of Tripoli, in Syria, who was marching to reduce a place called Múrj Pásin, the chief of which, a relative of Maán Oghlí, called Násir-ud-dín, with more than a thousand of his followers advanced to meet the son of Seif, when a most desperate encounter ensued; in which the rebel-chief was not only made a prisoner, but several hundred of the Durzís lost their lives. Múrj Pásin itself escaped at this time, but it was afterwards visited when all the Durzís in it were scattered, and their chiefs obliged to flee. Four thousand of these mercenaries, under the command of one, Sherif-ud-dín, were afterwards defeated in one of the defiles in the mountains called Rúm, where they lost five hundred men. In a short time, seven hundred more of these Durzís were numbered among their slain. In the above-mentioned defile, called Rúm, Sherif-ud-dín himself, and above one thousand Durzís perished in a battle which was fought there. The Osmánlís were every where victorious against these detestable heretics, and burned their dwellings. Some short time afterwards they learned that Emír Yúnus, the brother of Maán Oghlí, had posted himself with four thousand armed men below the fortress of Banias. They were, however, soon dispersed, and the Osmánlí army now found time to carry on, with more leisure, the sieges of the various other strongholds which had hitherto stood out. Fekhr-ud-dín Maán Oghlí's first appearance of insubordination and rebellion took place in 1021, and he continued to manifest it more or less for a considerable time: sometimes he broke out in acts of hostile rebellion; sometimes again he sued for peace: and thus he continued till the reign of Sultán Ahmed Khán, when he was overcome by Kúchuk Ahmed Páshá, and was afterwards conducted to the At Maidán, in Constantinople, where he met with the punishment due to his crimes, as we shall afterwards see.

*The grand vezír, Nesúh Páshá, murdered.—The seals are conferred on  
Mohammed Páshá.*

Nesúh Páshá was by birth a plebeian, and of one of the villages of Gom-lajena. On his being brought into the imperial palace, he was attached to the hatchet-bearers in the old palace, and served under Mahmúd Aghá, the emperor's favourite. He left this situation with the rank of chávush, and acted for some time as the voivoda of Zula. In 1007 he was advanced to the rank of ketkhodá of the household troops; was afterwards made under-master of the horse, and after enjoying this situation for some time, he was raised to the rank and dignity of governor of Aleppo, where he continued till Jeghala Zádeh gave the government of that city to Jánbúlát Oghlí. Once or twice he was employed against the rebels, but was defeated. Having been created válf of Baghdád, he waged war against the militia of that district. He was for a considerable time válf of Diárbeker, and formed a permanent friendship with the Kurds, by marrying the daughter of the mírsherif of Kurdistán. During the time he held these situations, particularly those of Aleppo and Diárbeker, he accumulated immense wealth. When the celebrated Murád Páshá fell sick at Diárbeker, Nesúh became his deputy, and after Murád's death succeeded him in the premiership, as well as in the chief command of the army of the east. After negotiations had been entered into with the sháh of Persia, and when that prince had agreed to the articles proposed by the Ottoman government, Nesúh Páshá returned to Constantinople in 1021, and became son-in-law to the emperor; but the princess was only three years old when the marriage contract was made.

Although Nesúh was a man of unequalled strength and bravery, yet in battle he was seldom successful. After the death of Murád Páshá it was expected (especially when the splendid apparatus his predecessor had provided against the Persians was considered) that he would have employed his resources against that people and utterly ruin them; but instead of this, he heedlessly agreed to make peace with them. By his power of address, and the servility of manner which he was capable of showing, he acquired such an ascendancy over the emperor that he acted with despotic sway.



His pride and haughtiness knew no bounds ; nor would he allow any one, if he could prevent it, to share his master's favours. By his influence vezírs were turned out of their vezírships, and others of them were exposed to the greatest insults. Some of the most faithful servants around his majesty's person he supplanted by creatures of his own stamp. His being at enmity with the reverend mufti, Mohammed Effendí, led him to manifest contempt for the whole body of the ulemá, and caused him to make himself friends of worthless and ignorant men. In every assembly he and his vile associates showed the most marked disrespect for that august and venerable dignity of the mosque ; and every person, whoever he was, if he only suspected him of having any share in the emperor's favour, was sure to meet with reproach and persecution. His conduct at last, however, was seen through by his majesty, and produced in the monarch's mind a complete change towards his vezír.

Sím Zádeh, a native of Bosnia, states that Nesúh united great magnanimity of mind with a competent share of knowledge and science, and possessed many other excellent qualities ; but that he wanted rectitude and was thoughtless. He says, moreover, that Nesúh Páshá maintained no intercourse with persons who were of a wrathful and furious disposition. His enmity against the reverend mufti wholly arose from his pride, ambition, and haughtiness. One day when the mufti was sitting in the Yalí gardens along with some of his friends, the conversation happened to turn upon the evil conduct and bad administration of the grand vezír. Suddenly, at this time, a six-oared boat approached the Yalí gardens, when it was annouced that the grand vezír had arrived. The mufti hastened to meet him as he disembarked. The vezír had on his head a small turban, appeared very much perplexed, and his features became changed. On his meeting the reverend prelate, he saluted him, and hardly giving him time to return the salutation, he stepped into his boat again and sailed away. The reverend mufti, and those about him, were very much surprised at the strange conduct and appearance of the premier ; but they did not know the mystery of the case. They took an opportunity, however, to ask him whether he had been at the emperor's council, but he answered that he had not gone,

though he had been invited to attend; and added some other things which seemed to intimate that matters were not right with him.

It would be endless to recount the evils which Nesúh was guilty of, both before and after he was made grand vezír. His cruelty and shedding of innocent blood, his avarice, his tyranny and oppression, were enormous. The emperor not unfrequently remonstrated with him, both in the language of kindness and of threatening, but it had no good effect upon him. Khezer Effendí, who had been raised to the chancellorship for having told him the truth, he contrived to have sent to Anatolia on business; and afterwards despatched a man after him to murder him, which deed he perpetrated. When speaking to his friends of the fate of the unfortunate Effendí, he used to say, he had helped him out of this vain world to a crown of martyrdom in the next. He was destitute of religion; and his exalted station was his ruin. Even his own domestics united at last against him, and deemed him worthy of death. It seemed as if every thing conspired to render it imperative that a judicial sentence should go forth against him. The mufti, Mohammed Effendí, the ághá of the palace, Mustafa Aghá, and those about the emperor's person, apprehensive of their own safety from the snares and stratagems of the grand vezír, were incessant in preferring complaints against him for his villany and shocking perversities, which at last had the effect of rousing the emperor's displeasure to such a degree, that he determined on cutting him off. Nesúh saw the storm that was now rising, and therefore fled from the emperor's presence. This explains the mystery of his going to the Yalí garden, as before observed. His death was determined on: justice had lifted up her hand against him.

It was announced to the grandees of the state, that his majesty intended to be present, on Friday the 13th of Ramazán, at the public assembly in the mosque. The astrologers informed the grand vezír that his horoscope had run its course; that his felicity was at an end; that his stars had prognosticated evil and not good concerning him; and that if he would escape the impending danger, he must avoid seeing the face of the emperor. The grand vezír, fearing the danger to which he was exposed, feigned himself sick, and determined on throwing himself on the emperor's compassion when he

came forth to attend at the mosque. The emperor, however, did not come forth on the day he had announced ; for he too was afraid of the grand vezír : but he issued orders to take away his life. This was communicated to the ághá of the janissaries, who was desired to proceed and do the work. This ághá and his janissaries soon surrounded the palace of the grand vezír, when the bostánjí báshí, Hasan Aghá, with a hundred bostánjís, rushed into the premier's inner chamber, where he was sitting, and instantly strangled him. The seals of office they carried away with them, and delivered them to the emperor.

The end of Nesúh Páshá was no less humbling than his previous fortune had been auspicious. The whole object of his life was to amass wealth. From his first appearance in public he advanced through all the various gradations of military office, but never gained any victory worthy of notice. The desire of accumulating wealth and property was this man's foible.

In the account of Nesúh Páshá which we have perused there are some other things recorded which we must here insert. After the death of the celebrated Murád Páshá, and when Nesúh was made premier in his stead, he seized on Murád's lieutenant, and threw him, and one Hasan Aghá, who had offended him, into prison. The former he caused to be executed on the battlements of the prison, and rooted out every individual of his family : the latter met with the same fate shortly afterwards.

When Alí Páshá, the vâlí of Baghdád, and son-in-law of the lamented Murád Páshá, was on the eve of retiring to his government, his father-in-law strongly advised him against meeting Nesúh. Alí Páshá neglected this advice, had an interview with him, and received several tokens of apparent kindness from Nesúh. He not only conferred a variety of presents upon him, but even sent some of his own domestics along with him under the pretence of rendering him service, whilst, in fact, Nesúh meant them only as spies. When the latter returned to Constantinople he removed Alí Páshá from office, and three times sent him word not to show his face in the metropolis. Alí Páshá, as might have been expected, was very much astonished at this treatment, and wondered what the crime might be for which he was thus treated. Leaving, therefore, his heavy baggage at Eski-sheher, he secretly returned to Constantinople. The grand vezír made

three several attempts to get the emperor to agree to deprive Alí of his life, but without success. On a fourth attempt of the same kind, the emperor, instead of listening to the advice and importunity of his minister, created Alí Páshá a vezír, and secured him against the machinations of the vindictive premier. After the assassination of the latter Alí Páshá was raised to the government of Buda.

The writer, whose sentiments we have introduced into the preceding paragraph, says, moreover, that when Nesúh Páshá accompanied the emperor to Adrianople, he wrote to Mohammed Gherái, who, along with Sháhín Gherái, had been the cause of a tumult among the Tátárs, desiring him to come to Adrianople, where he would introduce him to the emperor, and get him made khán. Mohammed Gherái took the hint, and immediately set out for Adrianople. The emperor having gone out one day to follow the chase, chanced to spy a troop of armed Circassian horsemen, and Mohammed Gherái at their head. The emperor, who did not seem to know the reason of their appearance in such circumstances, enquired why they had come. The result was, even though the vezír fully explained to the emperor the reason of Mohammed Gherái's arrival, that he was instantly seized and carried off to the Seven Towers, and there incarcerated. Persons were also sent to Kili to seize Sháhín Gherái, but he made his escape before they arrived there.

*Chief reasons for accomplishing the death of Nesúh Páshá.*

At the time Nesúh Páshá accompanied the emperor to the city of Adrianople, one of his friends, called Jebráíl Aghá, happened to lodge at the house of a Seyed, where he made some attempt on the virtue of the wife of his landlord. The enraged Seyed appeared on Friday in the mosque, where the emperor and all the Muselmans were assembled for worship, and stepping into the middle of the court, took off his turban, and thus addressed his majesty: "Please your majesty, you are emperor of the Osmánlis. Who then is this wicked wretch (meaning Nesúh), who, with his Kurds, Turks, and similar tyrants, dares to offer violence in this city? They affix to their own names those of angels, who live near to God, and yet are not ashamed to commit crime and be guilty of corruption. By the great

God," said he, flinging away the muslin cloth that was round his turban, in a rage, "I do not know of whom I should first complain." The emperor was very much grieved at hearing this story.

On the emperor's return to Constantinople, the grand vezír formed the design of assassinating the reverend mufti, Mohammed Effendí, and the ághá of the palace, but was afraid of the emperor. He employed, however, one Behráam Khetkhodá to go as far as the country of Albania, and secure for himself, at every stage, a certain number of horses to be in readiness. His object in this was, that as soon as Behráam had assassinated the two reverend prelates above-mentioned, he might make his escape. Behráam, however, was a man of prudence and good sense, and would not agree to perform the task which the grand vezír had imposed upon him. Information of this, and of other things which this wicked premier had been guilty of, coming to the emperor's ears, he determined on cutting him off, and made arrangements for that purpose. The grand vezír having at last come to perceive that the emperor was for some reason or other displeased with him, came one day into his presence, in order to sound him. "How is it," said the vezír, "that you pay no attention to any thing I say? If I am not worthy of holding the office of first minister, and you give the seals to another of your servants, I shall certainly destroy myself by taking poison." The emperor, at hearing this mode of address from his minister, was roused into indignation, and said, "You treacherous villain, the report of your having caused poison to be administered to my faithful servant, Murád Páshá, is but too true." Nesúh was forthwith despatched; and the offer of the premiership was made to the second vezír, Mohammed Páshá, and son-in-law to the emperor.

After the world was rid of Nesúh Páshá, things began to wear a new and more favourable aspect. The evils of which he had been guilty were incalculable, and most injurious; and never did any man depart more from the spirit of his office than did this man. His sons after him, though they had acquired some grandeur and dignity in the state, were, like himself, unfortunate. Two of them met with a fate similar to that of their father, and another of them was allowed to pine away in solitude and neglect.

After the death of Nesúh, several persons who had been deposed during

his administration were restored to their offices or to others still more important. Among these was Ali Páshá formerly mentioned, whose services in the late war with Austria, and his wise administration at Baghdád, had become known to the emperor. Mahmúd Páshá, the son of Jeghala Zádeh, was another who was confirmed in his dignity of vezír. On the 21st of Ramazán, Hasan Páshá, who had been at one time beglerbeg of Diarbeker, was again appointed to that government; and, at the same time, protector of the frontiers. Some other appointments took place on this occasion.

*Concerning Betlan Gabor.*

Betlan, or Bethlem, Gabor was a descendant of the Baturi line of Transylvanian princes. Baturi Gabor, better known by the appellation of Deli Karal (the foolish king), was a madman and a tyrant. He seized on the property of the other chiefs and nobles of Transylvania, and slew such of them as had the courage to oppose his tyranny and oppression: some were proscribed by him, and others, to escape his fury, fled the country. Betlan Gabor was one of the latter, and came to Belgrade at the time when Yemishji Hasan Páshá was commander-in-chief, who allowed Betlan Gabor a salary of one hundred and twenty pieces of money. Betlan remained the whole of that winter at Semendria, and afterwards returned to Transylvania: but in 1021, he was again, for fear of Baturi Gabor, obliged to take refuge in Turkey. Having been successively deputy to Iskander Páshá and to Hasan Páshá, and being well acquainted with both the Arabic and Persian languages, he accompanied Nikrúm, the Austrian ambassador, to the court of Constantinople. Nesúh Páshá, the grand vezír, conferred on Betlan Gabor the government of Kaniza. By the intervention of Iskander Páshá it was that he was first introduced to the premier, who made himself acquainted with the circumstances of his case. Betlan informed him of the conduct of his relative, Deli Karal; and this led to the measures which the government afterwards adopted for crushing Baturi Gabor.

Under the pretence of repairing the fortress of Búda, it was considered necessary to augment the troops in that quarter; but these, in fact, were

to be employed against Baturi Gabor, Delí Karal. Orders for augmenting the troops were accordingly issued. Iskander Páshá assembled his troops in the plains of Serím, marched to Temisvar, passed through Timúr kapú, and entered Transylvania. Nesúh Páshá appointed Kelánjí Omar Páshá to take the command of the army, and ordered Sháhín Gherái and the begs of Valachia and Moldavia to join the main body.

When Delí Karal heard of the formidable array which was gathering against him, he shut himself up in Waradin and fortified the place. In the meantime Iskander Páshá proceeded to Belgrade, in Transylvania, and there installed Betlan Gabor as king of that country. It was not to be imagined, however, that so long as the mad king was allowed to continue in existence, Betlan Gabor would find it an easy matter to reign undisturbed in the possession of Transylvania. By the advice of Betlan, Iskander Páshá showed various acts of kindness to such of the voivodas as could be depended upon, and thus secured their good-will and that of their subjects in behalf of the new-made king. Iskander Páshá, after having settled all these matters, thought proper to evacuate the country; but he had scarcely done so when Delí Karal ventured out of his stronghold, and, with the view of attacking Betlan, began to muster what forces he could. One of the voivodas, however, placed himself in a certain pass through which the old king was to pass, and actually shot him on his first appearance. Betlan Gabor was no sooner rid of his antagonist than he began to reign without fear, and, of course, without a rival; sent a letter to his friend, Iskander Páshá, who was still at Timúr kapú, informing him of his good fortune, and thanking him for the services he had rendered to him. When Iskander Páshá received this letter he began to make arrangements with regard to the cities and provinces of Transylvania, and settled things on the same footing as they had been in former times.

*The treaty of Transylvania.*

Betlan Gabor having given the strongest assurances and the most faithful pledges of his attachment and subserviency to the Ottoman government, the latter entered into a perpetual league with him, both offensive and



defensive, constructed in conformity to the league entered into in the days of Soleimán, which was signed on the 23d of Jemadi I. of this current year. The league or treaty was as follows :—

“ In consequence of the demise of the ruler of Transylvania, and the entirely new state of things in that country, the Ottoman government, in compliance with the wish of the princes and three estates of the nobles of Transylvania, has appointed from amongst them a descendant of the kings of Transylvania, and one brought up amongst them, to be ruler of that country. It therefore decrees, that none of the nobles or plebeians shall, without their own consent, be obliged to leave the country; nor shall any who has been obliged to submit to the new order of things, suffer any molestation whatever. 2. So long as the ruler, nobles, and commons of Transylvania remain firm in their submission to the Sublime Porte, no neighbouring power shall be permitted to invade that country. 3. None of the captives which the Transylvanians may have taken shall be employed against the common enemy. 4. All the cities and villages in the confines of Selnak, Gullah, Lipah, and Temisvar shall continue to pay such taxes and imposts as they were accustomed to pay to the Ottoman government before the rebellion occasioned by Baturi Zigmund; the government of Transylvania shall not hinder or forbid the payment of these taxes and imposts on any account whatever. 5. The Transylvanian government shall on no pretence whatever molest the districts of Salmish, or those places belonging to Turkey in the districts of Shemadeyma and Yarfatnah. 6. Such of the Turkish peasantry as may have removed to Transylvania, and are still there, shall be sent back to the places whence they came. 7. The Transylvanian government shall in like manner, and in conformity to former agreement, from time to time send its accustomed tribute to the Ottoman government. 8. The Transylvanian government shall form a friendly union with the voivodas of Valachia and Moldavia, and shall render to them friendly aid when necessary. 9. In like manner, it shall afford to Turkey, on due notice being given, its aid and assistance with that fidelity which its relation to that country demands. 10. The boundaries of the country of Transylvania are to remain as they were fixed at the

making of the treaty of Vienna, and are not to be altered. 11. None of the Transylvanian princes who may have attached themselves to the ruling prince shall be molested."

*Another treaty.*

The princes of Upper-Hungary, during the reign of Soleimán, were all subject to the Ottoman government, but were afterwards obliged to submit to the emperor of Germany. Within these few years, however, king Botchkai and the princes of Upper-Hungary broke their allegiance to that power, and became again subjects of the Ottoman government. It was on this account that the Ottoman government conferred on Botchkai, by treaty, the sovereignty and other emblems of royal authority over those cities which had either revolted from the dominion of Austria, or had been rescued from it: these however, after the death of Botchkai, again fell under the dominion of Austria. The Germans, forgetting integrity and honour with the Transylvanian princes, sought to wrest from their hands every place of strength which had still remained to them; and, moreover, employed violent measures in endeavouring to bring the inhabitants to embrace their system of faith. In consequence of these outrages on the part of the Germans, the inhabitants began again to manifest their old hostility against their oppressors; and wishing to secure the favour and protection of the Turkish government, sent one of their most experienced leaders, Belzai Zigmund Betlan Gabor, the present ruler of Transylvania, to request from that government a renewal of former treaties. The following were therefore agreed to. 1. That so long as the Hungarian princes, kapúdáns, and other chiefs of that nation should maintain a faithful subjection to the Turkish government, the latter power agreed to enter into a treaty, both offensive and defensive; promising, also, to maintain a friendly compact with Betlan Gabor, and to assist him in the event of any hostile invasion. 2. As a proof of their sincerity and integrity, they were this year, according to their ability, to transmit to the court of Constantinople certain presents. 3. In the event of their being called upon to render aid or assistance, none of their castles or cities were to be invaded, but should remain undisturbed.

4. No greater taxes were to be demanded than what they had been accustomed to pay in former times. 5. In the event of the king of Poland, or the rulers of Valachia and Moldavia, wishing to purchase any of the fortresses of Transylvania, they were not to give their consent to such a transaction. 6. Should either of the voivodas of Valachia or Moldavia become disaffected to the Ottoman government, and take refuge in Transylvania, he was not to be allowed to remain there, but be sent to Constantinople, and all his slaves were to be set free without ransom.

This treaty, which was made with Betlan Gabor, who had been deputed by the Hungarian princes to negotiate in their behalf, concludes by assuring him that the Ottoman government would continue its ancient custom of sending to every new ruling prince its accustomed gifts of standards, ensigns, ermines, and robes of honour. Copies of this contract were secretly sent to the parties concerned.

This year Tahmuras Khán withdrew from Sháh Abbás, and entered into a special relation with the Turkish government.

*The grand vezír and commander-in-chief marches against Persia.*

In the treaty entered into by Kázi Ján, the Persian ambassador who had accompanied Neşúh Páshá to Constantinople, as the reader may remember, it was stipulated on the part of the Persian sháh, to furnish the head of the Ottoman government with one hundred loads of silk and one hundred loads of precious wares. For the last two years, however, this tribute had been withheld, and the sháh, thus endeavouring to rid himself of his engagements, violated the treaty. The emperor's patience forsook him; his rage kindled into a flame. He sent a royal letter to the grand vezír, Mohammed Páshá, to assemble the whole of the household troops, those of Romeili and Anatolia, and march immediately against Persia. The grand vezír appointed Gúrjí Mohammed Páshá to be his deputy in Constantinople; Lunka Zádeh was made treasurer; and the government of Bosnia was conferred on Sulfi Báki Páshá.

On the 23d of Rabia II. the grand vezír passed over with his splendid army to Soutari, remained there about three weeks, and reached Aleppo in

the month of Shabán. Dervish Tálib Effendí, the ordinary of the ancient mosque of Selím, and chief of the astrologers, accompanied Mohammed Páshá in the capacity of astrologer, and was never absent from him.

In consequence of the lateness of the season, however, the commander-in-chief was obliged to distribute his troops into winter-quarters, intending to commence hostilities as soon as the proper time arrived. He himself took up his quarters in the palace of Aleppo, the váli of which, Etmekjî Zâdeh, having been recalled to court, he appointed his deputy in room of Gúrjî Mohammed Páshá, and sent him off.

*A messenger arrives from the sháh.*

After the departure of the great army mentioned in the preceding section, information reached the court of Constantinople from one Enjelí, who had been deputed to the court of Persia, that Kásim Beg, ambassador from the sháh of Persia, had arrived on the confines of Reván with the stipulated silk; but such was the displeasure which his majesty felt at the conduct of the sháh that he absolutely refused to recall his army; and when the ambassador actually arrived at Constantinople, which happened to be at the very time that the Osmánlí army entered Aleppo, he was refused the honour and respect usually shown to one of his character, though he was supplied with whatever he required. A whole year passed away, however, before his majesty deigned to read the sháh's communication, or even to look at the presents sent to him.

*The peace with Austria renewed.—New articles added.*

The peace with Austria having been renewed this year, twelve new articles were added. The commissioners on both sides met at Vienna. The Ottoman commissioners were Ahmed Aghá, of the horse-guards, the deputy of Akí Páshá, the governor of Búda, and Gashir Ghurajeiyan. Those of the emperor Mathias were his first and second ministers, the treasurer or chancellor of the kingdom of Hungary, besides some other persons of note. The treaty of peace between Austria and Turkey was entered into, as will be remembered, at Sidova, with Murád Páshá, and was to be maintained for the space of twenty years. The revised or renewed treaty

was dated, according to the Christian era, in the year 1615; but according to the Moslem era, the 1st of Jemadi II. 1024.

The *First* of the twelve new articles annexed to the treaty of Sidova, bound both parties to maintain the peace for the period stipulated upon in that treaty. *Second.* The various articles mentioned in the treaty of Sidova were to remain in full force. *Third.* The frontier lines, as well as the grounds of complaint between the villages situate on these frontiers, were to be examined and settled. Further: The discontent manifested by one hundred and fifty villages attached to Osterghún were also, according to this article, to be examined. It was agreed to by both sides, that sixty villages in the district of Osterghún should be subjected to the Ottoman government, and four months were allowed for the settling of this point. *Fourth.* The prisoners taken by either party during the negotiations which were carried on at Sidova were to be set at liberty. A list of all the fortresses which Ahmed Ketkhodá had erected since the commencement of the peace was ordered to be given in; and all the palankas erected by both parties, contrary to the articles of the peace, were to be examined within the first four months, and erased. *Sixth.* Neither of the contracting parties was to harbour or encourage false or hypocritical persons, but to inform against them. *Seventh.* The churches belonging to the Christians within the Turkish dominions were to be repaired; and the gospels were to be read according to custom. *Eighth.* The uninhabited portions of land on the frontiers were declared to be free for the use of the peasantry of the province to which such portions belonged, and by this article they were allowed to settle on them without hindrance. *Ninth.* Traders belonging to either country were to be allowed to pass and repass from the one to the other, provided such traders were furnished with proper passports from their respective authorities. Into whatever district or province they should enter or pass through, they were, by this article, obliged to show their passes; and the commander of that place or district, and the head of the excise, were either to affix their seals to them, or endorse them, but without any fee or reward. It was further provided by this article, that if the roads by which such traders travelled were unsafe, they were to be furnished with a proper escort; but they were to pay all dues and imposts punctually.

*Tenth.* Merchant-vessels coming to Turkey from any of the dominions of the Roman emperor (*i. e.* the emperor of Austria) or from Austria with merchandize, were not to be allowed to do so unless they came under the imperial flag, and were furnished with sufficient documents besides. If, in opposition to the spirit of this article, any should venture to do so, the agents and consuls of its respective governments were to be authorized to seize him. Traders coming in ships to Turkey from any of the above-mentioned dominions, or from Spain, or from any other nation carrying the imperial flag, were in like manner to be allowed to do so on paying the Ottoman government three per cent., and two per cent. to their respective consuls, on all such wares and merchandize as they might buy or sell. The consuls or agents were not only to settle all matters for such traders, but were also to be at full liberty to arrest any one of them who might have neglected paying into the government treasury his lawful dues. If any dispute should happen to arise between merchants about money, it was provided by this article, that the *cazí* of the place or city where such dispute had taken place should have power to decide the question; but with this proviso, that the sum about which the dispute arose was not more than four thousand pieces of money: if above this sum, the litigants were to be obliged to refer the matter in dispute to the military judge of Constantinople. *Eleventh.* After this treaty was again settled and signed, all letters, messengers, or other persons coming or going from or to either country belonging to the contracting powers, were to be respected by the authorities on the frontiers; and if the roads were unsafe or dangerous, a sufficient escort was to be provided. *Twelfth.* It was decreed by this article, that from this time no *voivodas* or servants of governors were to enter any of the frontier villages; but the inhabitants themselves were, nevertheless, to pay or deliver, according to law, whatever amount of dues they might owe.

*Death of the reverend Mufti.—His brother, Isád Effendí, succeeds him.*

The venerable and amiable Mufti Effendí, who was tutor to Sultán Murád Khán, was born on the 28th of Shaban 975, when his father was rector of the academy of Yelderín Khán, in Brúsa; and who, along with

a private tutor, exercised the greatest assiduity in training and enriching the young mind of his son, who by their instructions acquired the most perfect education. In 994, he was honoured with the rectorship of the academy of Esmíkhán. In three years afterwards he was introduced at court, and in two years more he made a transition from the Selímiya to the Soleimániya. In 1000, he was dignified with the cáziship of Mecca. Not being satisfied with this situation he returned to Constantinople, and was made cazí of that city in 1004. In the same year he was transferred to the jurisdiction of Anatolia. He was present at the taking of Agria, but was afterwards suspended from office for the space of two years. In 1007 he was raised to the jurisdiction of Romeili. In 1010 he succeeded to the muftiship in room of Siná Effendí. In the following year he was deposed, but in 1017 he again succeeded Siná Effendí in the same high office which he had held four times. Seven years afterwards he received a gratuity of six thousand pieces of silver, and was incorporated with the Historiographers. On the 5th of Jemadí II. of this year, he departed into the world of spirits, having died of the plague. He was buried in the tomb of his fathers. His brother, Isaád Effendí, succeeded him in the high priesthood.

#### EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1024, H.

##### *The grand vezír and commander-in-chief march to Reván.*

We lately left the grand vezír and commander-in-chief, Mohammed Páshá, at Aleppo; we now return to record his operations against the Persians. On the arrival of spring the various troops began to move from their respective cantonments, and in the beginning of Rabia II. the general's pavilion was erected in the Kokmaidan. On the 7th of the month such of the army as could be collected in so short a time marched off for Reván. After crossing the meadows of Koksú and arriving at the plains of Aksheher, the commanding-general was joined by Dávud Páshá beglerbeg of Romeili, with his provincial troops, having also been entrusted with funds for the grand army. About the beginning of Jemadí II. the army reached Erzerúm; from the fortress of which the commanding-general took seven pieces of



ordnance. After distributing provisions, &c. among the household troops, the royal camp was joined by the troops of Anatolia, Caramania, and Sivas. Firmáns were also sent to the beglerbeg of Diárbeker, Diláver Páshá, and Tekelí Mohammed Páshá, beglerbeg of Wan, to march with their respective troops towards Reván. The válí of Baghdád, Mustafa Páshá, also collected a number of Mosul and Seyed Khán troops, and sent forward two divisions of these foreigners under the command of proper officers. Towards the end of the month the grand army reached Kars, which had formerly been destroyed by the Persians, but was now rebuilt, and was furnished with a garrison and cannon. About the middle of Jemadi II. the grand army reached the plains of Reván. During the season preparations for opening trenches were attended to, and thus the siege of Reván was commenced. Amir Gunah Khán had taken good care to have the fortress not only strongly fortified, but also well filled with troops and ammunition. The sháh himself, with the army under his own command, was at Nakhcheván. The Moslem army in the meantime surrounded Reván with field-pieces, and for the space of twenty days continued battering its walls; but without visible advantage. Finding their efforts in this way to be vain, they began to collect earth, which during the night-season they formed into mounds for their artillery, in order to employ this apparatus more effectively. After accomplishing this vast labour, they succeeded in effecting some breaches, and then commenced a general assault; but were repulsed with immense loss. The ághá of the janissaries, Meslí Aghá, perished; and Turkijeh Bilmaz was wounded: the troops who had been engaged in the assault were withdrawn. It is said, however, that one night, when Tekelí Mohammed Páshá, governor of Wan, was on guard, some thousands of red-heads, under the guidance of four kháns, issued forth and entered into a narrow pass, with the view of lying in ambush. Tekelí, however, observed them, immediately marched against them, and defeated them most completely. One thousand heads and five hundred living infidels were conveyed to the Moslem camp, as trophies of Tekelí's victory. The fame of his bravery was spread abroad.

The sháh, in order to make a display of his own might, was in the habit of causing fires to be kindled on the tops of the surrounding hills, but the

Moslems continued to carry on the siege with all the vigour they were able, but were opposed, inch by inch, by the red-heads, who frequently rushed out even as far as the trenches, and fought most furiously. At length, however, the Moslems succeeded in beating down a considerable portion of their walls and battlements. This so alarmed the besieged, that they, in order to prevent another general assault, which they saw would be fatal to them, proposed an armistice for four days. "We will consult our sháh," said they, "and afterwards deliver up the place to you." Their request was agreed to, and for four days not a gun was fired on either side. But the execrable race completely deceived the commanding-general.

Hasan Beg Zâdeh says in his history that the chief-cannoneer had directed the mouth of a cannon against the palace of Amir Gunah Khán, but instead of hitting it, it struck the house of the avaricious sháh's ignorant chancellor, and shattered it to pieces. He tried a second time, but failed.

It is certain that after the Moslems had succeeded in beating down the wall they ought to have pursued their advantages, and have pushed into the city; but it would appear they altogether neglected this. During the armistice they repaired the breaches which had been made, and again commenced hostilities. Forty days were spent in the siege of Reván, and nothing more was effected than what we have related. The Moslems, indeed, tried the springing of mines, but to no purpose; and at last the whole of their ammunition was expended: winter was drawing on; and, in short, they were obliged to withdraw their artillery from Reván. The loss sustained by the Moslems on this occasion obliged them to make a disadvantageous peace, in which it was agreed to take one-half of the silk and presents which had been stipulated in the treaty that was made when Nesúh Páshá was grand vezír. The whole of the provisions, &c. which had been sent forward for the use of the troops at Reván would have proved insufficient, and at any rate have been lost.

After the last treaty above alluded to was settled and signed, the Kizil-báshes came into the camp of the Moslems, when a mutual exchange of articles took place. The Moslem army, having first sent their artillery away to Kars, retired from Reván in the month of Ramazán. Whilst passing through the plains of Loghan, immense numbers of them perished from the

cold. Having supplied Kars with military stores, the army advanced to Erzerúm, where the household troops were paid off and sent away into Romeili for the winter. The commander-in-chief and his suite remained at Erzerúm.

*The grand vezir and commanding-general, Mohammed Páshá, is deposed.—  
Khalíl Páshá is advanced to the premiership.*

All the efforts employed this year against the Persians, as we have seen, ended in disappointment, disgrace, and loss. The failure of the vast army conducted by Mohammed Páshá against a place of such little importance as Reván, being only a fortress of clay, and the great expense which this expedition had occasioned, created a tremendous stir at Constantinople. The emperor was no sooner informed of the disasters which his army had experienced, and of the utter failure of the expedition, which were wholly to be attributed to the want of proper skill in the commander-in-chief, his own son-in-law, Mohammed Páshá, than his mind was much hurt, and he immediately determined on deposing him. With this view, and in this state of mind, he assembled the mufti and all his ministers in the imperial gardens, in order to consult them on the state of public affairs. Etmekjî Zâdeh, who, it will be remembered, had succeeded Gúrjî Mohammed Páshá in the deputyship of Constantinople, became exalted in his own imagination at the chance, as he thought, of his succeeding Mohammed Páshá in all his offices. In the pride and vanity of his heart he proceeded to the place of deliberation. Before he reached it, however, the reverend mufti had an interview with his majesty, who informed him of the purpose he had formed of conferring the high and important offices of grand vezir and commander-in-chief of the army on one of his vezírs, and asked him to tell him who he thought was worthy of being raised to these high dignities. The mufti replied, "That as Etmekjî Zâdeh filled the office of deputy of Constantinople, the honour might, perhaps, belong to him." "That may be true," said his majesty in return; "but he has been sometimes guilty of falsehood, and such a person is not fit to hold the premiership." The reverend prelate approved of the sentiments expressed by his majesty, and then added, "that Etmekjî Zâdeh was not only a liar, but also a wicked

tyrant." "Mention, then," said his majesty, "some other one." The reverend prelate without any hesitation recommended Khalíl Páshá, "an officer," he said, "who, as he knew, had gained to himself, by his bravery and skill in the navy, signal honours, and was every way worthy as well as competent for holding the high offices now vacant." "That," said his majesty, "is the very man I have been thinking of." The reverend prelate now took his leave of his royal master, and had scarcely gone out when Etmekjî Zâdeh came in, to whom the emperor put the same question he had put to the mufti. "Please your majesty," replied Etmekjî, "I am at your service, and am willing to sacrifice my life in the service of the crown." The emperor was silent, and the other thinking this silence on the part of the emperor betokened his majesty's selection of himself, he went out. Khalíl Páshá now entered, when his majesty saluted him by informing him that he was appointed grand vezír and commander-in-chief: "The seals shall be sent after you," added the emperor. Khalíl kissed his majesty's hand for the honours he had conferred on him, and returned to his own mansion: so did also the other vezírs, but none of them knew any thing of the appointment of Khalíl Páshá.

Etmekjî Zâdeh, full of the idea of being raised to the premiership, as he vainly thought, got his table spread out and covered with all sorts of viands for his friends, and impatiently waited for the arrival of the seals, which he believed would be sent him. But he waited in vain: they were sent to Khalíl Páshá. This fact was soon announced to Etmekjî, even at the very time he was regaling himself with his friends, as before hinted, and which had such a paralyzing effect on the constitution of Etmekjî, that his hands refused to touch the food which stood before him. His friends were all struck with surprise: they wondered at the sudden change which had appeared in their host: they were silent and retired. This unexpected piece of information was first communicated by a messenger who came to call the Reís effendî, one of Etmekjî Zâdeh's guests, desiring him to wait on the new minister.

Hasan Aghá, son-in-law to Meslí Aghá, ághá of the janissaries, who fell before Reván, was, though only a kúl ketkhodá, appointed to succeed his

father-in-law ; but this appointment not meeting with his majesty's approbation, Hasan Aghá, bostánjí báshí, was appointed to the command of the janissaries, and was sent off to Erzerúm, where the janissaries then were.

*The Persian ambassador is imprisoned.*

As soon as the sháh of Persia had learned that a mighty army was marching against his dominions, he sent off an ambassador, as before related, not with two years' tribute of silk and presents, which he owed, but with one year's only. On the arrival of the ambassador in the city of felicity (Constantinople), accommodations were afforded him, but the usual honours were denied. In fact, the monarch was so much enraged, that he afterwards sent him to the Seven Towers.

In the meantime the new grand vezír was busily employed in making preparations for renewing the war against Persia, and an imperial letter, with money for the journey, was sent to the khán of the Crimea, Ján Beg, calling upon him to join the royal camp with a Tátár army.

The disappointed Etmekjí Zádeh entered into wicked and treacherous designs against the new grand vezír. One of his creatures was brought before the diván for having murdered a servant who had belonged to the prime minister, for which he was instantly dispatched by order of the emperor. Etmekjí himself was notorious for his acts of corruption, and was therefore banished the seat of government.

The preparations for renewing the war being fully completed, the grand vezír and commander-in-chief, with his newly organized army, passed over to Scutari. Etmekjí Zádeh's ambition was again awakened ; he thought he should now be made káimakám of Constantinople, which office he lately held ; but he was again disappointed, for the emperor had conferred that responsible situation on Súfí Mohammed Páshá, governor of Buda, who was instantly recalled and installed. Etmekjí Zádeh could bear his disappointments no longer, and overcome with grief he was taken ill. But we must, for a little, advert to some other events which claim our attention.

The governor of Kaniza, Ahmed Páshá, Ghraj-ban Gasper, who had been raised to the principality of the island of Naxia, and the hákim of Prague arrived in Constantinople with credentials from the emperor Mathias, re-

questing a conference with respect to the late treaty of peace. It would appear that before the treaty was finally settled the commandant of Búda, Alí Páshá, was removed from the frontiers, and Hasan Páshá was appointed in his stead; the latter, not knowing the advance which had been made towards laying a foundation for a solid peace, disturbed the tranquillity of the country in several instances, and committed some serious evils besides. However, he died, and Alí Páshá, at the establishment of the peace, being again re-appointed to the government of Búda, not only restored peace and good order, but also settled the boundaries of the villages belonging to both countries, and the payment of all dues, as they had been in the days of Soleimán. It was in reference to these and similar matters that the personages before-mentioned came to Constantinople, in order that they, along with Charizghal, the Austrian ambassador at the court of Constantinople, might be able to arrange matters in conformity to the articles of the peace.

*Iskander Páshá marches against the Cossacks.*

The emperor having determined on rooting out the troublesome and factious Cossacks on the Black Sea, ordered his fleet to be in readiness, and commanded Iskander Páshá, governor of Bosnia, to conduct the Romeilian troops by land against them; but both the expeditions against the Cossacks did not proceed till after the new year. About this time the Transylvanian ambassador arrived, and informed the government of Turkey, that certain German princes who had committed violence and robbery on the borders of Transylvania, but who had been severely chastised, and obliged to retire in disgrace, were again threatening to invade that country with their collective force. The Osmánlí government, in order to maintain its guardianship over that country, and to awe the invaders, sent a number of troops towards its frontiers, and wrote for an explanation to the Austrian ambassador at the court of Constantinople. The ambassador replied, that his master was wholly ignorant of the fact. The Ottoman emperor was unwilling to enter into any hostile attitude, but found it requisite to support his allies; especially as one of the engagements entered into with the emperor of Austria was in favour of Transylvania. The emperor, therefore, in accordance with his own peculiar engagements with Transylvania, wrote

to Iskander Páshá, who had been appointed to conduct the land expedition against the Cossacks, to take fifteen thousand of the troops, foot and horse, under his own command, conduct them in person, or give the command to some other fit officer, and oppose the threatened invasion of Transylvania. "You are by all means," said the emperor in his letter, "to deliver out of their hands the fortress of Yanovah."

In Pechevl's narrative it is said that Dúmnah, the widow of Eremia (Jeremiah), the former voivoda of Moldavia, had great possessions in Poland, and that an infidel of the name of Korsáki, of the race of Russian and Polish nobles, was her son-in-law. This Korsáki, wishing to recover Moldavia for her youngest son, raised an army of twenty thousand native Russian vagabonds, and another of as many Poles, entered Moldavia, took possession of that province, and thrust out Stephan, whom the Osmánli government had fixed there as voivoda of the country. To reinstate the ex-voivoda, Serkosh Ibrahím Páshá, governor of Silistria, the begs of Bender and Akkerman, and a Tátár army were instantly dispatched; but were completely defeated and routed in the very first engagement. At this time, Iskander Páshá, who had been removed from Agria, was employed in some service in Constantinople. The kálmakám, Gúrjí Mohammed Páshá, appointed him governor of Bosnia; and afterwards sent him into Moldavia with the Bosnian, Serm, Semendrian, Alajahisár and Walehet troops. Ibrahím Páshá, with the Silistrian troops, was ordered to join Iskander's camp. Iskander Páshá, having penetrated into Moldavia with his mighty force, met with the army of Dúmnah, headed by Korsáki, her son-in-law, near a village called Istaphanish, where a most sanguinary battle took place, but in which the Moslems were triumphant. The two sons of Dúmnah, and her son-in-law Korsáki, were made prisoners; and all the three, along with five hundred Cossacks who carried muskets, were sent bound in chains to Constantinople. So many living prisoners had not, in modern times, been presented before the royal diván.

Iskander Páshá, the conquering Iskander, was every where hailed as the deliverer of the country: he again placed the ex-voivoda Istaphan in his former government, and succeeded in restoring peace and good order. It is worthy of remark, before closing the events of this year, that the daughter



of Dúmnah, the wife of Korsákí, a woman of extraordinary excellence, fell into the hands of a Tátár, and could no where be found. She was, however, afterwards ransomed for thirty thousand dollars, and was found pregnant by the Tátár, to whom she had borne two daughters; a circumstance which, for a time, was much talked of both in Poland and amongst the Moslems.

*The grand vezír and commander-in-chief goes to Diárbeker, where he winters.—  
Ján Beg Gherái, the khán of Crimea, joins the royal camp.*

On the 8th of Jemadi II. the grand vezír and commander-in-chief passed over with a splendid army to Scutari; but because of the great distance of the Persian frontiers he was ordered to winter at Diárbeker. On arriving in this city he was informed that his highness the khán of the Crimea, Ján Beg Gherái, had left Kaffa with an army forty thousand strong, and that he was on his march to join the grand army. The commanding general, however, sent him word, that before joining the royal camp at Diárbeker he should ravage the frontier territories of Persia, viz. Gunjah, Nakhcheván, and Jelha; which he did, carrying off about a thousand captives, and as many cattle. On approaching the royal camp, the grand vezír and commander-in-chief went out to meet his highness the khán of the Crimea, and conducted him to his tent. After the table was removed, the grand vezír presented his highness the khán, in the name of the emperor, with a splendidly ornamented sword, a steed richly caparisoned, and five thousand pieces of gold, for the purpose of covering his expences in the war. His mirzás were also presented with robes of honour: the Osmánlí beglerbegs bowed and did obeisance in his presence, and then conducted him to his own camp. After a day or two the island of Ebn Omar, in the jurisdiction of Mír Sheríf Páshá, was assigned to him and his Tátár army for winter-quarters.

*A division is sent to protect Gúrjistán (Georgia) from the grasp of the heretics.*

In the meantime the governor of Gúrili sent letters to the commanding general, informing him of the intention of the kizilbashes of subduing the

province of Gúrjístán (Georgia). The general, in order to afford protection to Gúrjístán, sent the beglerbeg of Batum, Omar Páshá, and his provincial troops; also Murteza Beg, beg of Childer, Sefer Páshá, and other chiefs of that nation; and the emírs of Gúríkí, of Dadyou, and of Askukbásh, with their respective provincial troops, to the aid of the Georgians. Moreover, the whole of the janissaries in Erzerúm and in Trebizond, with their respective officers, and the governors of Daghistán, were ordered to join the camp of Omar Páshá, to whom the chief command was committed.

*Iskander Páshá concludes a peace with the Cossacks.*

Iskander Páshá, who had been appointed to chastise the Cossacks on the borders of the Black Sea, but who had been called away to support the Transylvanian kingdom against the aggressions of some German princes, now, accompanied by Betlan Gabor, and the voivadas of Valachia and Moldavia, with their respective armies, besides a division which he himself conducted from Búda, advanced so far as a palanka, called Búdila, on the banks of the Túrta (Tyra), which runs through Moldavia. The hettman of the Poles, and Istanislar Zulghosh, commander-in-chief and minister of Sigismund, king of Poland, with a Polish army, were posted at a place called Bazuja. As both armies were on the eve of commencing the work of death, ambassadors from both sides entered opportunely into a reciprocal conference with regard to the conduct of the Cossacks, and the result was: 1st, That the hettman became security for the Cossacks, that they should no more enter the Black Sea by the river Ouzi, and vex or molest the Moslem population residing on its shores. 2d, That they should never again invade the kingdoms of Transylvania, Moldavia, and Valachia. 3d, That they should never permit Hootaba Oghlí Shirnán, nor any other to pass through their territories with the view of disturbing the peace and tranquillity of any or all of these kingdoms or countries. He agreed, moreover, in the fourth place, that the gifts and presents usually sent to the khán should be punctually remitted as in former times. All these stipulations, which the hettman agreed to guarantee, were signed by himself and other responsible persons in his camp; were also written out in the Turkish and Polish languages, and a copy of them sent with his ambassador to the court

of Constantinople. It was agreed by Iskander Páshá, on the part of the Tátárs, that they should not invade or molest the territories of Poland. These stipulations, on both sides, were ratified and signed on the 6th of Rámazán of this present year, when commercial intercourse was again opened between the countries included in this treaty.

This year the emperor of Austria sent his most favoured minister, the governor or kapúdán of the city of Prague, to Constantinople with his tribute of gifts and presents to the emperor of the Ottomans. The Austrian ambassador having been required to remain at Constantinople till the commissioners formerly mentioned had come to an amicable conclusion with respect to the affairs which had called them together, did so, until he was required by letters to repair to the borders, as affairs were on the eve of being settled. He accordingly set out for Búda, where the commissioners then were, and, after every thing was finally settled, he was permitted to return to his own country.

*Concerning the naval affairs of this year.*

The lord high-admiral, Alí Páshá, with the view of distressing the infidel coasts, sailed for the Mediterranean with the Turkish fleet. He foolishly neglected, before going to sea, to condemn such of his ships as were not sea-worthy; and, as if he had been educated for the naval service, he set sail of his own accord. On the evening of the 20th of Shaban, as he reached the wide and extended ocean, a tremendous hurricane arose which soon forced the vessels of the fleet to separate from each other. On the following morning, the hurricane still continuing, he perceived this to have been the case: four ships, containing ammunition and arms, two galleys having janissaries on board, besides five other vessels, were wrecked, and every soul on board of them perished. Two large vessels and one galley were driven by the winds to the coasts of Tripoli West, but were not injured. The galley which had a company of troops on board, for seven days and as many nights was driven at the mercy of the tempest. Soídán Oghlí, who at this time was beg of Tripoli, supplied these vessels with every thing that they required, and sent them back. After a period of twenty-days the remaining part of the scattered fleet collected round the kapúdán,

at Corone, when it was discovered that eleven vessels had perished. The time for sailing being now over, the fleet returned to the port of Constantinople in the month of Dhu'l Kaddah.

*Death of Sultán Ahmed Khán.—Sultán Mustafa Khán is inaugurated.*

The disease of the stomach, by which his majesty had been afflicted, became, during the first ten days of the month of Dhu'l Kaddah, so much increased as entirely to resist the skill of the physicians; and on Thursday night (*i. e.* the night preceding Thursday), the 23d of Dhu'l Kaddah (November 17th, 1617), he passed into the eternal world.

In consequence of the tender age of the heir-apparent, his uncle, Sultán Mustafa, in conformity to his deceased brother's own choice and agreement, succeeded to the throne of the Ottoman empire. Before the hour of morning prayers, therefore, the káimákám or deputy of Constantinople, Mohammed Páshá, the reverend mufti, Isaád Effendí, and the other nobles and grandees of the state, assembling together in the royal diván, prepared a chair of state; and on Thursday the 12th of Teshrín Sání (November), Sultán Mustafa ascended the throne of the khalifat, and was solemnly inaugurated by the assembled nobles and grandees; heralds being sent to proclaim the same in the royal mosques. On the same day, the remains of Sultán Ahmed Khán were carried out into the court of the palace, whence, after the metropolitan priest had performed the funeral obsequies, they were borne to the place of interment, accompanied by all the vezírs and grandees, walking on foot and dressed in mourning.

*Character of Sultán Ahmed Khán.*

The pious royal defunct was a prince who, discarding envy, was the protector and encourager of the learned and the lovers of concord. He was the friend and support of the neglected, infirm, and poor, who were obedient to the laws, and of those who rooted out wickedness and heresy. He ascended the throne of his illustrious progenitors when he was only fourteen, and reigned fourteen years. His gracious but powerful firmáns were some of the benefits he conferred, and his reign is embalmed in the pages

of poetry as the most prosperous. He was a zealous and active emperor, who incessantly manifested his good disposition.

It is related by Shábán Deddán, who had performed the office of washing the emperor, that he had perceived in the emperor's beard two white hairs, which he (the emperor) during his life time would not allow to be extracted. "When with astonishment, and desirous of information, I showed them to his nearest relatives," says Deddán, "they informed me, that these two hairs began to appear after the commander-in-chief had been sent against the Persians." He was a prince who was kind to persons of every class, whose conduct deserved to be esteemed. In short, religion prospered during his reign. The benefits he conferred on Medina and Mecca exceeded those of all his predecessors. He purchased the two palaces in the At Meidán, belonging to Ahmed Páshá and Mohammed Páshá, on the area of which he caused a splendid temple to be built, which has not its equal on the face of the earth. In the galleries, on the tops of its six minarets, are shown the number of the Osmánlí Sultáns who have reigned; and from which also the Moslem muezzíns (public criers) proclaim the joys of paradise. Its lamps are all suspended: some of them are covered over with gold, and others are ornamented with gems. Both within and without, the utmost skill of the artist has been expended. This unequalled temple is very lofty. Some of the beautiful buildings which surround it are also memorials of the royal founder.

*Concerning Sultán Ahmed Khán's sons.*

Sultán Mustafa Khán, the paternal uncle of the heir-apparent, Sultán Osmán Khán, who afterwards fell a martyr in a tumult of the people, mounted the Ottoman throne. The mother of Osmán was a noble and august lady, and the principal concubine of his father. The royal offspring, Sultán Mohammed, when preparing for the northern wars, was, through the perfidy of Osmán, murdered. Sultán Murád Khán, the conqueror of Baghdád, another of the royal princes, became sáhibkirán (emperor). His august mother, called the Moon-faced, was a favourite of Ahmed his father. Sultán Bayazid was born three months later than Murád, and died a

martyr. Sultán Soleimán shared the same fate with Bayazid, and in the same year. Sultán Kásim was as successful in arms as Murád had been. His mother was also a favourite of the deceased emperor. Ibrahim became emperor, as we shall afterwards see. His mother, like those already mentioned, was a favourite of Ahmed.

*Vezírs who were contemporary with Sultán Ahmed Khán.*

Kásim Páshá was káimakám when Sultán Ahmed Khán ascended the throne, but was afterwards murdered, as has been already observed. Alí Páshá Yávuz died at Belgrade at the time he was commander-in-chief. Ghází Lálá Mohammed Páshá, the conqueror of Osterghún, died of the palsy. Dervísh Páshá, who was raised from among the bostánjí báshís to the premiership, was deposed by the people, and deservedly murdered for his wickedness. The next in order was the celebrated Murád Páshá, who was succeeded by the infamous Nesúh, son-in-law to the grand sultán; but who, on account of his mal-administration and bad conduct, fell under his father-in-law's displeasure, and was executed as an example to others. Mohammed Páshá, called Oghúz, another son-in-law of the emperor, was deposed, and died at Aleppo. Khalíl Páshá, the last grand vezír, was at the time of Ahmed's death engaged in an expedition against the Persians. Háfez Ahmed Páshá, the eunuch, has been already mentioned, and his virtues and good deeds have been recorded. Súfí Sinán Páshá was twice káimakám, and as often deposed. Sarukjí Mustafa Páshá fell into disgrace when he was káimakám, and was killed. Khezer Páshá, governor of Cairo, was afterwards made káimakám. Gúrjí Mohammed Páshá, the eunuch, was celebrated for his prudence, and his modesty commanded respect. Ahmed Páshá, usually called Etmekjí Záhéh, the celebrated lord high treasurer, became obnoxious to every successive vezír; and each, in his turn, persecuted and sought to kill him. Through his fawning disposition, and the distribution of gifts, he contrived, as we shall afterwards see, to die a natural death. Kúrd Páshá was a vezír at the time that Ahmed ascended the throne, but was afterwards degraded. Gúzeljeh Mahmúd Páshá was made a vezír, but was degraded. Jeghala Záhéh Sinán Páshá died of grief because of the defeats he had sustained when fighting against the kizilbáshes.

Mohammed Páshá Ebn Khoaja Sinán Páshá was a very celebrated vezír, but was barbarously murdered. Súfí Mohammed Páshá was káimákám at the time of Sultán Ahmed Khán's death.

*Some of the events which took place during the reign of Mustafa Khán.*

When it pleased God to remove by death Sultán Ahmed Khán, his brother, Sultán Mustafa Khán, was, on the 23d of Dhu'l Kadah, 1026 of the Hijrah, raised to the vacant throne. Mustafa discovered, however, a deficiency of judgment; but it was attributed to his long confinement, and it was hoped he would by experience acquire a right knowledge of the duties which belonged to his exalted station. In the meantime, matters were conducted by the metropolitan priest, Isaád Effendí.

The new emperor, according to custom, went to the tomb of his predecessor, at which he girded himself with a sword, when all the nobles and grantees instantly made their obeisance before him. After having visited the tombs of his other noble ancestors, he caused alms and donations to be distributed. He was then placed on a chair of state, and heralds, by supreme authority, were sent every where announcing Mustafa's exaltation.

Mustafa Aghá Salihdár Sheheriári was raised to the government of Cairo. The royal foster-mother was given to him in marriage. The government of Syria was conferred on Tchokadár Aghá: that of Caramania was given to the ághá of the falconers. Some other friends of the emperor met with tokens of the royal favour about the same time.

*Sultán Mustafa Khán is deposed.*

According to Hasan Beg Zádéh, the ághá of the royal house, Mustafa Aghá, who during the preceding reign had exercised absolute authority, began again, under the new emperor, to manifest a desire to exercise the same unlimited power. He wished to have all the nobles and grantees of the state obedient to his nod. The emperor, who was himself without any restraint, did not interfere; and, in short, seemed to give himself no concern about it whatever. This conduct excited much discussion. The ághá's incapacity to govern became quite notorious, and therefore the



necessity for deposing him became equally clear. It began to be openly spoken, that if he remained much longer at the head of the administration, he would, without doubt, waste and destroy the whole of the imperial treasures. Some of the great doctors and learned men who had been well acquainted with the affairs of the state, wrote to the queen-mother, pointing out to her the necessity there was for removing the above-mentioned ághá from the royal house. Overcome by the tears of the ághá, and the sweetness of his tongue, she, however, paid no regard to the communication sent her. In short, fraud and mismanagement arrived at such a pitch of notoriety, that the people began not only to look on the emperor with aversion, but to assemble for the purpose of actually deposing him. The aforesaid ághá wrote to the reverend mufti, to the rest of the learned men, and to the nobles, that all the princes of the blood were on the very eve of being murdered; and called on them to come forward and prevent the extinction of the Ottoman race. On their receiving this intelligence, they were roused to fury, and immediately agreed to the deposition of the emperor. In the beginning of Rabia I., under the pretence of distributing to the household troops their wages, they succeeded in getting them properly equipped, and arranged into proper order to answer their own purposes. They then barricaded the emperor's apartment; and, by a postern door, brought forth the young Osmán, and placed him on the throne of Mustafa his uncle. The emperor's friends about him no sooner perceived the soldiers than they immediately anticipated the deposition of their master, and began to regret, when too late, that the advice which had been given to the queen-mother had not been followed.

Hájí Khalifeh says, in his Fezlikeh, that this infamous emperor was, for some time, deprived of the use of his reason, and became quite remarkable for his strange gestures before people. He used to wander among the tombs, throw money into the sea to the fish, and scatter it on the roads; proofs sufficient of the derangement of his mind. This ághá too, he states further, in order to preserve the civil and religious institutions of the country free from confusion and outrage, wrote to the mufti, Isaád Effendí, and to the káimakám, Súfí Mohammed Páshá, with regard to the state of the emperor's mind, assuring them that there remained no possible chance of

ever bringing him again to his right senses. If prompt measures were not instantly taken, he maintained, the funds of the state would soon be totally annihilated. Accordingly, the household troops, under the pretence of paying them their wages, were collected and arranged in the manner before described; when Sultán Mustafa Khán, on the first of Rabia I., was deposed, as before observed, after a reign of only three months and ten days, and he retired into his former privacy.

*Sultán Osmán Khán inaugurated.*

On the first of Rabia I., after all the vezírs and other magnates of the state had assembled in royal diván, and after the household troops had been properly arranged, the ághá of the palace, Mustafa Aghá himself, shut the door of the emperor Mustafa's apartment, and brought forth Sultán Osmán Khán, when he was instantly placed on the chair of state, and was solemnly inaugurated by the vezírs and nobles assembled. After this ceremony was once over, and the fact announced to the assembled multitude, they were allowed to retire.

The new emperor, in conformity to ancient custom, proceeded with great pomp to the Abí-eyúb, where he girded on his sword, visited the tombs of his ancestors, distributed alms among the poor and indigent, gave donations to his friends, such as royal bounty confers on such occasions, but which, in this instance, was rather too much for the imperial coffers to afford; for every inauguration cost, generally, three thousand yúks of money (3,000,000 dollars). Besides, on this as well as on the late former inauguration, the usual presents made to the army were sent to it. The son-in-law of the reverend mufti, Mohammed Effendí, viz. the kapújí báshí, Mustafa Aghá, was, on this occasion, the bearer of the royal gifts to the army, which he conveyed to the commander-in-chief. On his arriving at Diárbeker, the head-quarters of the grand army, he was honoured with the ágháship of the janissaries, and was afterwards raised to the government of Diárbeker itself.

*Concerning Mohammed Gherdí.*

On the very day of Osmán's inauguration Mohammed Gherái Khán, who

had been incarcerated in the Seven Towers, found means of escaping from his place of confinement, and with a small party of Tátárs absconded. When this fact was noised abroad the kálmakám, Mohammed Páshá, dispatched Háji Súbáshí by water and Iskander Páshá by land in search of the fugitive. Háji Súbáshí steered his course towards Varna, and happened to reach it before Iskander Páshá, who had directed his steps to the same place. Háji apprized the inhabitants of the purport of his visit to Varna, and put them all on the alert. On the afternoon of the same day Mohammed Gherái also reached it, and halted underneath a large tree in the fields. This was no sooner discovered than the inhabitants made an attempt at surrounding him and his party. Mohammed Gherái, however, was determined not to allow himself to fall into their hands without making a struggle in his own defence, and therefore prepared to offer resistance. With an arrow from his bow he shot one of the janissaries, but afterwards yielded the contest and entered the city; when Iskander Páshá, who by this time had arrived at Varna, took him under his own charge, and conducted him back to Constantinople; and he was again confined within the Seven Towers, from which he had so lately made his escape. Iskander Páshá, it is to be observed, showed him nevertheless the respect due to his birth and rank.

Hasan Beg Zádeh relates this account somewhat differently, but the difference is not so great as to render it necessary to give his version of the story. It has been also said, that Mohammed Gherái's brother, Sháhín Gherái, had fled to the court of Persia, but that when the sháh had told him of Osmán's inauguration, he resolved on returning home. When Sháhín Gherái was on the eve of setting out on his return to his own country, the sháh, it has been said, did him the honour of holding his stirrup and bridle till he mounted his horse. After taking his leave of the sháh, the latter called him back, and asked him if, in the event of the Osmání commanding general employing him against him, he would obey. "By all means," was the reply. "Will you draw your sword and fight against my troops?" asked the sháh again. "Without doubt I will," returned the undaunted Tátár prince. On hearing this heroic reply, the sháh shook his head at him. But the whole of this story seems to have been a sort of

pleasant raillery. We must now return to the affairs of Khahlí Páshá's expedition.

When the spring season arrived Khahlí Páshá removed from Diárbeker, where he had wintered; and, after collecting his forces in the plains of Choluk, directed his march towards Tabríz, by the roads of Bedlís and Wán. The sháh was stationed at Ardabíl. The khán and his Tátár army, leaving their winter-quarters, joined the grand army at Wán, where, after holding a council of war, it was agreed to march without delay upon Ardabíl. It is necessary to observe here, however, that sometime before this Karchúgherái Khán had driven the whole of the people in the country towards Ardabíl, with the view of saving them from the advancing Osmánlí army.

*Ján Beg, khán of the Tátárs, defeated.*

After the Osmánlí grand army had appeared before Tabríz, a reciprocal intercourse was entered into by the two belligerent powers, with the view of effecting a cessation of hostilities and promoting a peace. The commissioner employed on the part of the Osmánlís was the defterdár, Hákim Aghá, who, when proceeding to Ardabíl, had perceived the governor of Tabríz, Karchúgherái Khán, with a Persian army, employed in guarding an immense host of the country inhabitants and others, small and great, near Ardabíl; and therefore, on his return to the Osmánlí camp, recommended that a strong detachment of the Tátár army, and a division of the other cavalry, should instantly advance upon them and seize upon their property; they might easily, he said, vanquish any force which the enemy could oppose to them, and thus acquire immense spoil. The Tátárs and some of the other troops were elated by the prospect of booty. A council was held, in which the defterdár, Báki Páshá, and some other intelligent officers, expressed their entire disapprobation of the proposed movement. They alleged, and wisely too, that an army which must first accomplish seven or eight stages, could not be in a very fit condition, all at once, either to give a battle or sustain an attack. They asked, moreover, what proof there was that the enemy was not sufficiently vigilant and strong? But his highness, the Tátár Khán, the grand vezír's deputy, and Abáza Páshá, had been completely

gained over to the other side of the question by Hákim Osmán's representation; and a thirst for acquiring booty having infected the troops, every obstacle which could be mentioned was treated with contempt. The moment for enriching themselves had arrived; and why, they triumphantly asked, put off longer time? It was highly improper, and every way impossible, they maintained, that so much spoil as that which now offered itself, could be overlooked: nor would they fail in obtaining it, if they would but be true to themselves. Such were the arguments which the advocates for Hákim's proposals advanced; and the commanding general himself was, at last, completely swayed over to their side. It was, therefore, agreed that a strong detachment should instantly advance. Accordingly his highness the Tátár Khán, and the whole of his troops; the governor of Diárbeker, Mustafa Páshá, Alaja Páshá, governor of Wán; Osmán Páshá, governor of Sívás: Arslán Páshá, governor of Romeili, with ten sanjaks and their officers; and Abaza Mohammed Páshá, governor of Aleppo, set out. The command of this mighty detachment was intrusted to the beglerbeg of Diárbeker, Hasan Páshá. The turnají bashí, and a certain number of janissaries, were also attached to it, and all set forward in the utmost haste and precipitation. The rest of the janissaries caught the infatuation. The idea of acquiring wealth had filled their minds, and they were determined to have a share of the general spoil. They took their empty bags, in the hope of getting them filled, and off they set on their beasts of burden in the track of their brethren who had gone before them. So great, in fact, was the eagerness with which the royal army advanced in pursuit of the treasures they had promised themselves, that they accomplished the eight days' journey in even less than two; having never once halted, except to feed. Those in front and those in the rear moved forward, alike without order and without subordination, towards Ardabíl, till they arrived in the plains of Sarav, where they first had a glimpse of the kizilbashes, with whom they must contend for the prey. Karchu-gherái Khán, aware of the advance of the Osmánlis, had placed the greater part of his troops in ambuscade; whilst, at the same time, in order to deceive the Osmanlis, he showed, at some little distance, two small bodies, which at once attracted the attention of these ardent heroes. Next morn-

ing the Osmánlís, in their eagerness for conquest, and in their thirst for spoil, without order or government, and without taking any kind of precaution, commenced an attack. Those who had been placed in ambuscade now rushed forth upon the fatigued Moslems, when a most desperate battle, which lasted two hours, was fought; but the Osmánlís were at length obliged to give way. The commander, Hasan Páshá, Arslán Páshá, governor of Romeili, and Mustafa Páshá, governor of Diárbeker, fell in the bloody contest. Almají Mohammed Páshá and Rushvánlí Mustafa Páshá were made prisoners. The greater part of those whose horses were fatigued furnished food to the sword of the foe: many of the noble and heroic Tátárs met with the same fate; but the common horde of Tátárs fled. The khán himself continued firm, and fought with great bravery, till he was nearly surrounded by the enemy, when he too gave way. The janissaries were very active in supporting him, pouring in shots of musketry among those who had been endeavouring to seize him, and levelled many of them with the dust. It was owing entirely to their vigorous assistance that he escaped falling into the hands of the kizilbáshes, and got to a place of safety. The defeat of the Osmánlís was complete. The brave troops of Shám were unable to maintain their ground; five hundred of them had been made prisoners by Karchúgherái Khán, and were murdered; their officers were sent to the sháh. In this sanguinary combat very many of the foe also perished. The ungracious sháh, during the whole of the bloody conflict, shut himself up within the city of Ardabíl, giving himself up to humble supplications; and would hardly believe the intelligence which announced the defeat of the Osmánlí army.

Hasan Beg Zádeh says, in his version of this story, that when Khalíl Páshá was marching against Ardabíl, Sháhin Gherái deserted to the enemy, and betrayed the cause of the Osmánlís. In consequence of the information which he imparted to the kizilbáshes, they sent one or two emissaries into the Tátár camp, who circulated among the Tátárs that the Persians were in a state of entire defencelessness. This, of course, roused the Tátárs, and hurried them heedlessly onward. The words of Hákim Osmán had the same effect on, or they imparted impetuosity to the Osmánlís themselves, and the result was as we have related it, *i. e.* both the Osmánlís

and Tátárs were defeated and routed. Among those who fell on this memorable occasion were the khán's military judge and an Osmánlí sheikh of the name of Islám.

The news of this terrible disaster reached the royal camp during the night season : the troops in the camp were called to arms, and a council of war was held. Báki Páshá, with his wise associates, advised to advance, without a moment's delay, upon Ardabíl ; " for," said they, " if we retreat, the enemy will be encouraged and emboldened to pursue us, and will most certainly attack us, when every one will try to escape the best way he can. Our fate will resemble that which befell Jeghala Zádeh of former days." This mode of address had the effect of animating the troops in the camp, when it was resolved to march forward by break of day, which they did.

The advance of the main army, under the commander-in-chief, towards Ardabíl, did not hinder the sháh, though the Osmánlís had manifested no want of firmness, from making some invidious remarks to those around him. He tauntingly asked, if the Romeilian strangers were not yet defeated? whilst, at the same time, he sent messenger after messenger with this message : " Come, let us make peace : you are coming with hostile intentions : your late defeat has been owing to your vain and premature haste." With such words of bitter reproach as these did he fill his letters to the commanding general ; and yet, at bottom, he was most anxious to conclude a peace. Last of all, on a day which blew a hurricane, one Búrún Kásim, a messenger from the sháh, entered the Osmánlí camp, and immediately presented himself before the commander-in-chief, who was at the time sitting in council with the other grandees of the army. " Why," said the commander-in-chief to the ambassador of the kizilbáshes, " the red-heads, proud of the victory they have gained, have taunted us with disgraceful reproaches under the appearance of asking a peace : and if we retreat you are ready to fall upon us. Your professed desire of peace is hollow : which of your words can I believe?" Búrún Kásim, the sháh's ambassador, stormed. " What," said the intrepid vezír, but with a view of giving a facetious turn to the conversation, " is it customary, Kásim Beg, for the storm to blow so furiously in this country?" Kásim Beg was prevented from making a reply by Báki Páshá, a man of knowledge and experience,



as before hinted, who at this moment addressed the commander-in-chief thus: "No, my lord; this violent storm is only the effect of the wind of Búrún Kásim Beg's nose."\* This jocular answer of Báki Páshá was not without its effect on the mind of Kásim Beg, who now changed his tone, and said he wished God might not visit Báki Páshá with just vengeance. "Will you never," said he, "leave off your devilish wit: your wish is, to leave us recorded in the history of romance." The grand vezír and those about him could not refrain from laughing most heartily at hearing Kásim Beg, and looked astonished. Kásim was again filled with rage, but it evaporated into air. When Sháh Abbas heard of this ludicrous story he praised Báki Páshá for his malicious wit, and sent him no fewer than three loads of handsome presents on account of his facetious craftiness. But to return. The Osmánlí main army on approaching Sarav, having had abundance of provisions, proposed presenting themselves before Ardabíl, now only one stage distant, the following day. One messenger after another, however, assured them that the city was abandoned, that the lamps near the tomb of Sheikh Súfí and all manner of valuables had been removed; in a word, that the whole of the sepulchres of all the former sháhs were deserted. Under these circumstances, it appeared to the Moslems to answer no good purpose to advance any farther; and after having considered the matter in every point of view, the commander-in-chief renewed the treaty which had been entered into at the time Nesúh Páshá was grand vezír. It was, therefore, settled and signed that the sháh of Persia was, in future, to send annually to the court of Constantinople a tribute of two hundred loads of silk, and one hundred loads of other rarities. The crafty sháh, as if he méant to show how pleased he was with this renewal of the treaty, sent eight hundred camel-loads of provision of various kinds to the Moslem camp, which were accordingly distributed among the troops. To the grand vezír alone he sent nine camel-loads of sweetmeats, of preserved fruits of various sorts, of lemons and oranges, of fine flour, of rice, and of sugar, each loaf of which weighed from five to ten wakiyet. To the ághá of the janissaries, to the grand vezír's deputy, and to the other páshás and grandees of the army he sent two, three, or five similar loads of

\* Búrún signifies nose.

presents, each as he thought proper. All these loads of presents were sent as tokens of the sháh's friendship, and were conveyed to their respective owners by Mirzá Mohammed Hasan, his ambassador to the Moslem camp. On the part of the grand vezír several royal presents were sent to the sháh in return, and the treaty, after receiving the commander-in-chief's signature, was sent him, along with Mohammed Aghá, the jibbají báhí. The Persian sháh set at liberty the whole of the Osmánlí prisoners that had been seized, and that yet remained alive, who returned to the Osmánlí camp, which, on some of the first days of Dhu'l kadah, was removed from Serav, and the army marched towards Erzerúm. In the month of Dhu'l hijja the troops were all permitted to return to their respective homes, and the grand vezír went to Tocat, where he expected to winter; but he was deposed. In the following year, however, he was made lord high admiral of the Turkish fleet.

*The arrival of the king of Poland's ambassador.*

Some time before the last events which we have recorded took place, Gurgrofschá, a relative of the king of Poland, and one of his privy counselors, arrived in Constantinople as ambassador from the court of Poland, complaining of several inroads having been made upon the dominions of Poland by the Tátárs, even since the time of the last treaty, and praying that that part of the treaty which referred to the Tátárs maintaining the peace might be enforced. The grand vezír immediately wrote to Ján Beg, khán of the Crimea, to maintain the peace inviolate.

*An ambassador arrives from Fez.*

The ambassador of the Pádisháh of Fez arrived at Constantinople with letters and some valuable presents for the Ottoman emperor. He also complained of some depredations which had been committed by some of the wild and wandering Arabs in the districts near Bussorah, and praying that a stop might be put to their ravages. A messenger was instantly despatched with respect to this matter to the proper quarter.

*A phenomenon.*

There appeared one evening in the heavens a bright pillar or column which shone like a comet; the appearance of which occasioned among the people a variety of conjectures.

*Death of Etmekjî Zâdeh Ahmed Pâshâ.*

We lately left this man chagrined and sick, because of the repeated disappointments which he had met with. On his first appearance in public life he was employed as a collector of taxes at Adrianople, and by degrees rose to one of the most important offices in the state, that of lord high treasurer: which office he held for several years, till he was created kâimâkâm of Constantinople. When Oghuz Mohammed Pâshâ, the emperor's son-in-law, was deposed, and Khalîl Pâshâ, lord high admiral of the fleet, succeeded him in the premiership, Etmekjî Zâdeh felt as if he had been neglected because that office had not been conferred on himself. When this same minister went afterwards on the expedition against the Persians, Etmekjî thought and expected he would again be made deputy of the Sublime Porte; but the appointment of Sûfi Mohammed Pâshâ to this office showed him his expectations had been vain. The consequence was, that he became sorrowful and dangerously ill. His illness increased with his grief, and after giving a hundred *yûks* of money for the purpose of repairing the fortress of Uzi, and for erecting a fortification at Kilbûrûn on the opposite side, and nominating the reverend mufti his executor for paying such sums of money as he had appropriated for pious purposes, he died about the beginning of the following year. A thousand *yûks* of money which had not been disposed of before his death were appropriated to the imperial coffers. He was interred in the tomb of the honourable Mahmûd Effendî of Scutâri, who had performed the funeral service in Bâyezîd's mosque. A school in Constantinople, an inn in Adrianople, an unfinished edifice, besides several other buildings for benevolent purposes, are monuments of his generosity. He was one of the most celebrated men of his day.

*On the state of the coin.*

About the commencement of the month of Moharrem of this year a firman was issued to coin new silver coin and the piece of ten aspres, and Beker Effendí, the second defterdár, was made inspector of the mint. By means of a sum of ten purses of gold he established other mints in other parts of the empire. After a certain time had elapsed, the new coin was ordered to be put in circulation, and the old condemned. The new coin having been discovered to be deficient, however, the old, which possessed full weight, was again allowed to come into use.

*The seals of the premiership are again conferred on Mohammed Páshá, the emperor's son-in-law.*

Súfí Mohammed Páshá was, at the time of Sultán Osmán Khán's inauguration, deputy of the Sublime Porte; but for some mismanagement of which he had been guilty at the ceremonies which took place on that occasion, and for the vast treasures he, for want of judgment, had expended at that time, was disgraced and turned out of office, and Mohammed Páshá, the emperor's son-in-law, was made káimakám in his stead. The reverend mufti, who had been implicated in the affair of the late deputy, Súfí Mohammed Páshá, was removed by the emperor from being head of religion and science, whilst that distinguished honour was conferred on his own chaplain, Omar Khoaja: the reverend mufti, Isaád Effendí, retaining only the prerogative of issuing *fetvâs*. About the beginning of the month of Sefer this year, Khalíl Páshá, in consequence of the want of skill and good generalship which he had manifested in the late war with the Persians, was formally deposed, and the káimakám or deputy of the Sublime Porte, Mohammed Páshá, the emperor's son-in-law, was created grand vezír in his stead. When Khalíl Páshá reached Scútari on his way back, he was presented with the government of Syria, which, however, he declined: he preferred retiring with two domestics into a cell in Mohammed Effendí's convent, alleging that he was an old man of the poor and indigent ancient shefkhs, and wished for no new preferment. By

Mohammed Effendi's intercession in his behalf, however, his fault was overlooked.

*The arrival of a Persian ambassador.*

In the month of Jemadi I., the Persian ambassador, Búrún Kásim, sometimes called Kásim Beg, but in his credentials, Alí Sultán Khalffeh, arrived at Scutari with one hundred loads of silk, four elephants, and one rhinoceros, with other gifts for the emperor of the Ottomans. From Scutari he passed over to the imperial city, and was lodged in the palace of Pertev Páshá. His letter to the emperor specified, in all its various ramifications, the treaty signed by Khalíl Páshá.

*A remarkable phenomenon.*

In a communication from Mohammed Páshá, commandant of Búda, it was stated, that one afternoon, about the middle of the month of Shabán there appeared, in the German peleponesus on the north of Hungary, a black circular cloud, from which blood dropped like rain. This atmospheric appearance was accompanied by a most tremendous burst of thunder, and in the cloud there was seen the appearance of fiery crosses. After this cloud had condensed itself, a great quantity of smoke began to issue from it in all directions; and shortly afterwards another tremendous burst of thunder was heard. Those who heard it were stupified and confounded: the cattle in the field fell upon their knees, turned their heads towards the heavens, and then fled wild in all directions, many of which were never afterwards found. Some short time after the last burst of thunder, three successive sounds were heard issuing from the heavens, which, from their hideousness, might have awakened the dead. From this cloud, also, descended black round hail or balls, about the size of a cubit, which rolled along the ground. Some of these hail-stones which were taken up weighed three kintals.

*Betlan Gabor.*

After Betlan Gabor had been fully established in the government of Transylvania, he accompanied Iskander Páshá in his expedition against

the Poles, on which occasion he led ten thousand foot and twelve thousand horse into the country of Moldavia, near the fortress of Sordukna; but, in consequence of the peace which on that occasion was entered into with the ambassador of the king of Poland, he returned home with his troops.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON

Printed by J. L. COX JESON, Great Queen Street,  
London's late Fields.